THE EAST

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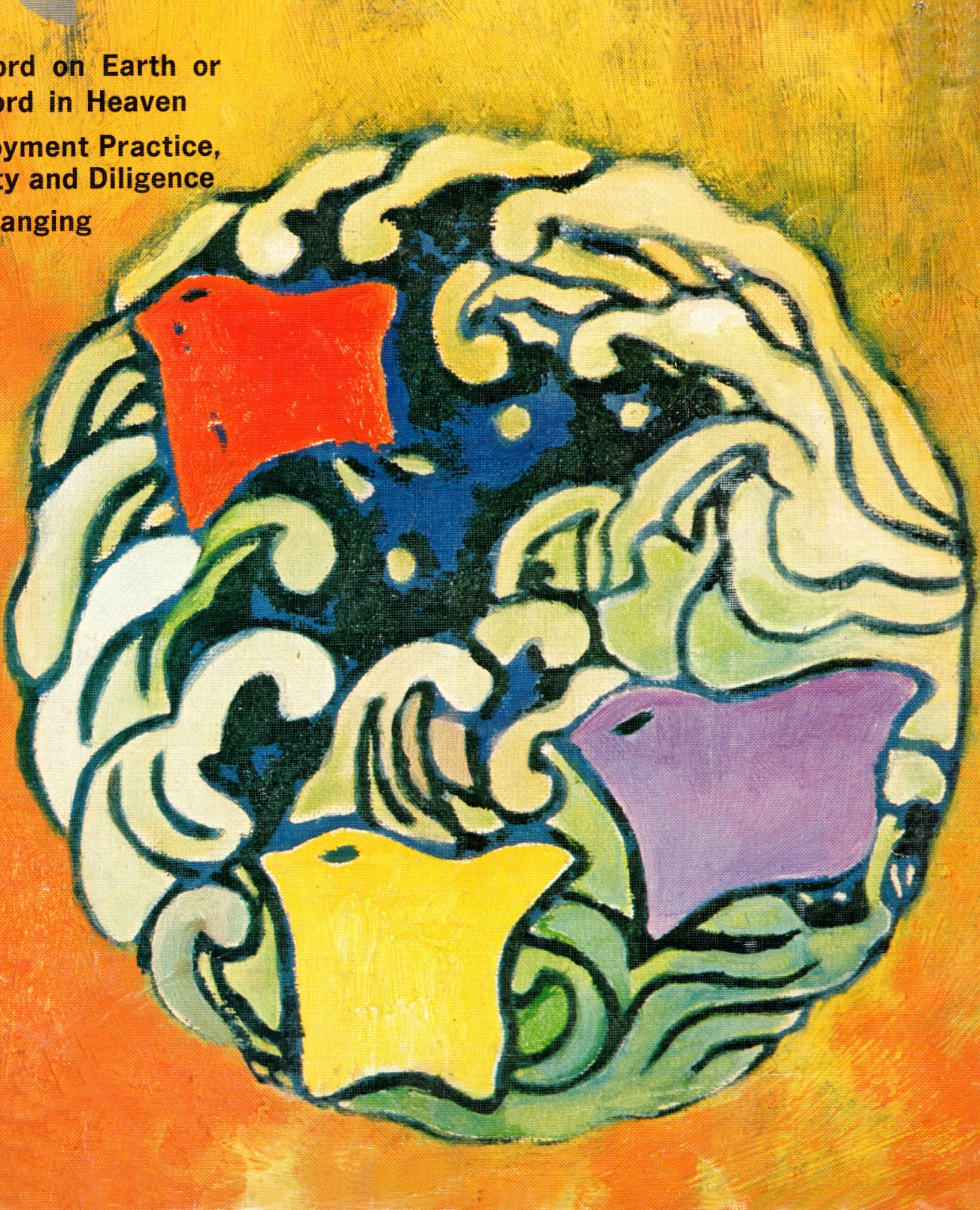
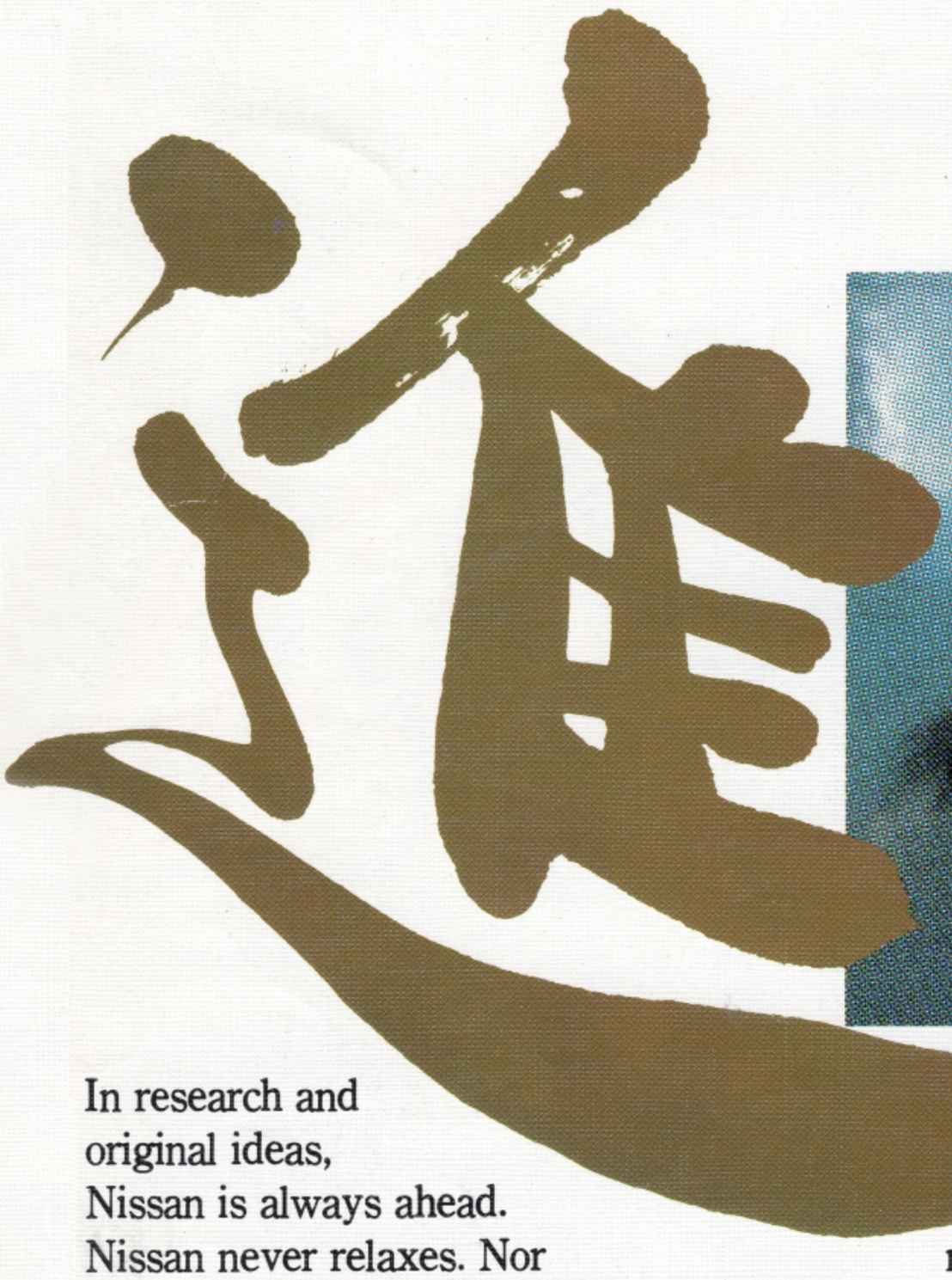
My Lord on Earth or
My Lord in Heaven

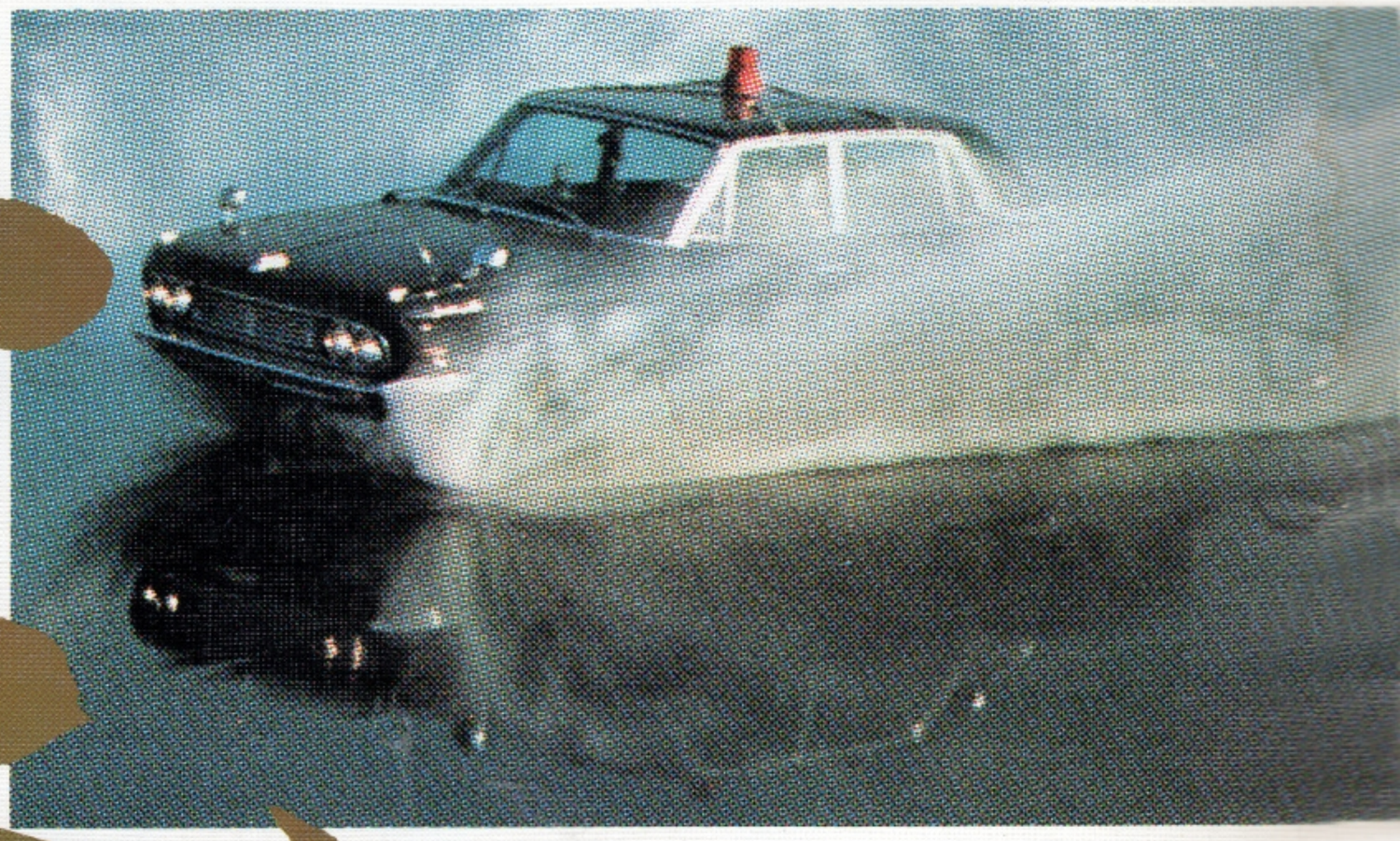
Employment Practice,
Loyalty and Diligence

The Hanging
Scroll



Nissan Motor Never Stops.





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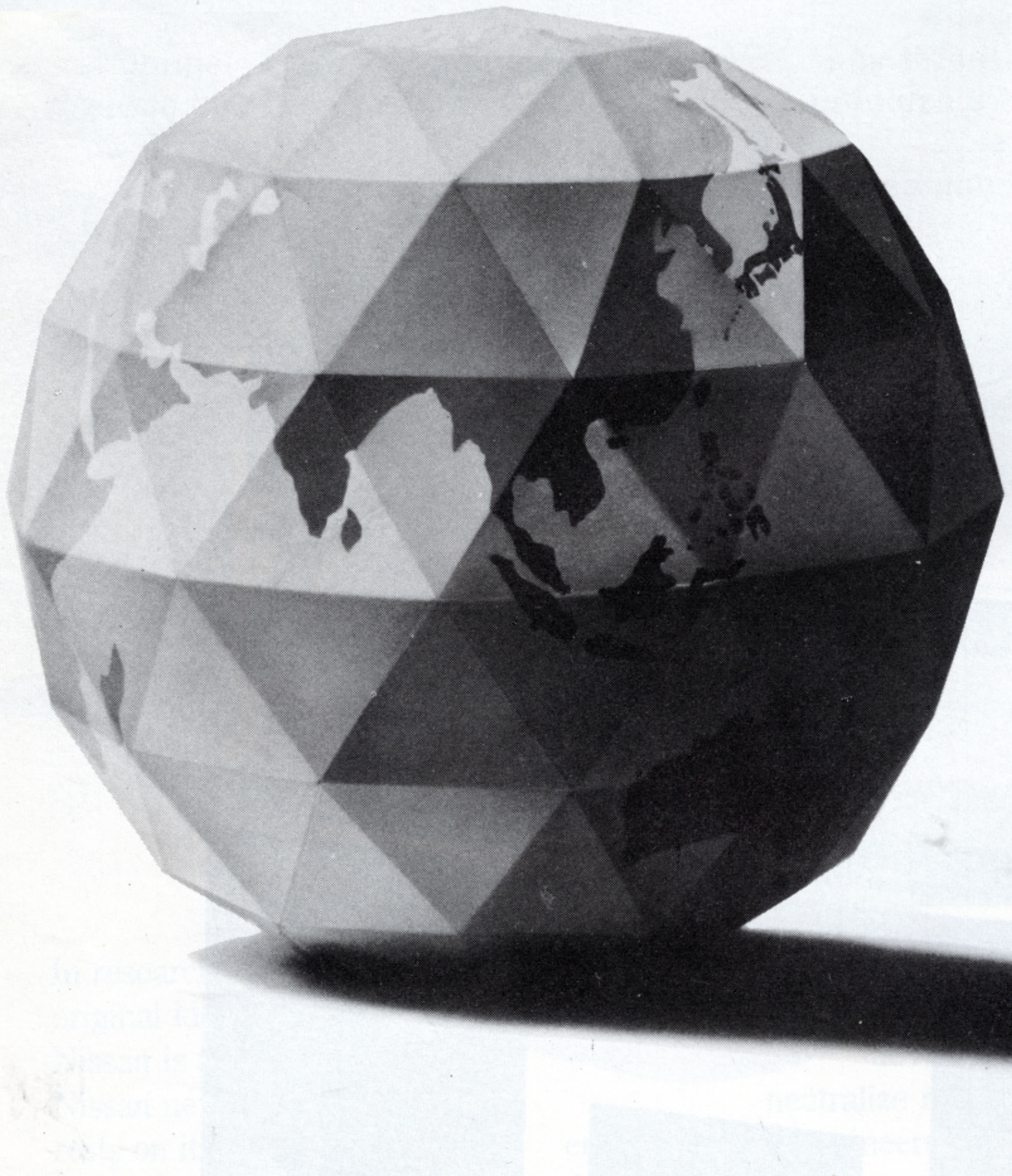

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A WORD FROM THE PUBLISHER

I had an interesting conversation with a young Englishman who came to see me recently. There was so much he did not understand about Japanese, he said, and for a long time he could not get close to anyone in this country. Then he started playing *go* and made some very good friends. Good friends—"friends for a hundred years" as they say.

He made a point of using just that Japanese phrase, *hyakunen no chiki* (百年の知己). Hyakunen no chiki is someone you feel you know so well that at least a hundred years must have passed since you first met.

What interested me about his comment was not that he found Japanese hard to understand since Japanese *are* hard for foreigners to fathom as everyone knows. As long as peoples and races cling fast to their own traditions and customs and ways of thinking it is not surprising that they find it impossible to understand one another. Yet almost by accident in the restricted area of interchange on the go board where basic thought patterns are bared by both sides one learns almost unconsciously to "read" the opponents' psychology, and through this special activity one can come up against an opponent face to face, naked to one another as it were. This becomes the basis for friendship.

I told him of a light verse or *senryū* which says, *gogataki wa nikusa mo nikushi natsukashishi* (碁仇は憎さも憎しなつかしし),"enemies in go, their loathesomeness is loathesome, a yearning attachment." If you lose to your go opponent you are assaulted by feelings of outrage, bitterness, animosity. But it isn't long before you can hardly wait to see him again and have another go at it. Without really knowing which one of you called to the other, you are soon seated together again, separated by the conciliating go board.

When you think about it, though, the way of the world is for people who have differences and become disaffected with each other to part ways forever, nursing their injuries. How wonderful to have a place where they can come together again. And for this reconciliation through go to take place between people of entirely different backgrounds transcending racial differences almost makes one believe it could happen in human society.

Be that as it may, we are planning to begin a series of articles related to Buddhism in the June issue, and at that time we would also like to begin including a page purely for our readers' pleasure introducing the fundamentals of and plays in go.

A Notice to Our Subscribers

When making inquiries or requests regarding subscriptions, your own or gifts for someone else, please be sure to indicate your subscription reference number. This will help us to facilitate things so that we can answer you without delay. Thank you very much.

The Subscription Department

Chronology of Major Events in the Sengoku Jidai

1543	Portuguese ship drifts into the island of Tanegashima, introducing rifles
1549	Francisco Xavier lands at Kagoshima to bring Christianity to Japan
1553	Battle of Kawanakajima (Takeda Shingen vs. Uesugi Kenshin)
1560	Battle of Okehazama; Ashikaga Shogunate permits missionaries to teach Christianity
1565	Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru assassinated by Matsunaga Hisahide
1573	Nobunaga drives out Shogun Yoshiaki, ending the Ashikaga Shogunate
1575	Battle of Nagashino (Nobunaga and Ieyasu vs. Shingen's son Katsuyori)
1582	Nobunaga assassinated by Akechi Mitsuhide at Honno-ji; Mitsuhide defeated at Yamazaki by Hideyoshi
1585	Hideyoshi recognized as ruler of Japan (under the Emperor)
1587	Hideyoshi orders missionaries to leave Japan; Christian daimyo Takayama Ukon banished
1590	Hideyoshi defeats the Hojo at Odawara Castle; Date Masamune bows to Hideyoshi
1600	Battle of Sekigahara
1603	Ieyasu founds Tokugawa Shogunate in Edo

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THE EAST

COVER

The great lyrical circles of mounting and falling breakers with their many-fingered white caps surging over Hokusai's boats (No. 21 of the 36 Views) or the interlocking waves of color shimmering in a flat yet moving pattern in the "Plum" screen by Kōrin are symbols of Japan familiar the world over. Waves are a trademark to rival cherry blossoms. Yet like so much else that seems so very Japanese, this design originates in China.

A large number of the achievements of Asian continental cultures were introduced into Japan in the Nara and Heian Periods including all the accompaniments to the various sects of Buddhism and the craft techniques brought along by Chinese and Korean immigrants. As the Japanese developed skill and independence a style began to emerge which belonged to them exclusively and they began to choose certain themes particularly suited to their sensibilities and delineate them on lacquerware, screens etc. Among these, natural subjects figured most prominently.

Nowhere is this process more clearly mirrored than in the designs which later were adopted as family crests. The wave motif is a representative example.

The samurai found an inspiring symbol in the wave design, for the endless yet dynamic repetition of the onrush and retreat of tide-flung waves reminded them of battles, now lost, now won. The portrait of the 16th century warlord Saitō Dōsan (1494–1556), whose clever and ruthless ambition brought him up from oil-vender to daimyō, shows the wave crest on his clothing.

The peaceful years of the Edo Period, however, tamed the raging waves. The number and variety of wave designs multiplied; waves were used everywhere. Except by samurai, who used them less and less. No daimyō in this period displayed the *nami* (波, wave) crest but ten bushi families used it: Oguri; Hirai; Watanabé; Shimazaki; Matsuda; Kitayama; Kōno.

The particular crest appearing on this cover portrays three plover (*chidori*, 千鳥) playing in the billows. The poetic theme was taken from a poetic source—the Noh play *Chikubujima*.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor:

With regret we wish to cancel our subscription to *The East*, which we have read for three years. Part of the reason is the rising cost from $4.90 a year to $7.50 a year. Also we feel the quality of the publication is not the same. The emphasis seems to be changing from a cultural and historical point of view to a more contemporary and general point of view. We felt the former was unique in a magazine, whereas the latter is commonplace, unless one is interested in learning about Japan's stock market, economic life, or current topics.

Over the years I have really enjoyed the articles on the historical figures and events, customs and culture—art, religion, martial arts, tea ceremony, kabuki, kanji, travelogues, folk stories, Japanese psychology. And I have wholeheartedly recommended *The East* to others. As a Sansei, I have had a craving to learn about my Japanese heritage and was happy that such a magazine as yours existed. But I have noticed more and more—perhaps it is inevitable as Japan changes into a modern, fast-growing industrial nation—the contents of the magazine are becoming more contemporary. Also some of the articles are written in an apologetic tone or show a lack of understanding and respect for the past traditions, customs, and values.

I hope I am not being overly critical, but I want you to know how I feel. It saddens me to see old Japan disappearing, but through *The East* I was able to preserve part of it in my mind. Perhaps you on the staff of *The East* can do some soul-searching and make the emphasis of your publication the preservation of Japan's heritage, rather than become just another general topics magazine.

I hope I will hear from you again. After, all, isn't *The East* a dialogue?

Sincerely yours,
Marilyn Hamada
Seattle, Washington, U S A

It would certainly make us very sad to lose a subscriber of long standing and enthusiasm like yourself. We can well understand your dissatisfactions and we would like to offer an explanation in detail here.

From $4.90 to $7.50 in four years is indeed quite a jump (even considering that the issues of the magazine were increased from bimonthly to ten issues a year). We have never explained exactly why the raises were necessary so we will do so now. In the last four years the postal rates on mail going from Japan to another country have been revised upward twice. At present one issue goes seamail to America for the special rate of 17¢ (usual rate 20¢) so the cost of mailing for one year, ten issues, is $1.70. (Subscription rate $7.50 less $1.70 = $5.80) Furthermore, the yen was revalued in 1971 from 360 yen to the dollar to 308 yen to the dollar. $\frac{\$5.80 \times 308}{360} = \$4.96$.

Add to this the rising costs of paper, printing, etc. and the subscription price actually comes out to less than four years ago as far as our company is concerned, but we have tried to absorb the difference. Basic costs being what they are now, however, this has become impossible and we have been further forced to raise the price to $8.50. Nonetheless, if the seamail postage is deducted from the cover price of $1.00, you can see that we are offering a very large discount. We don't need to remind you that we receive none of the mailing fee.

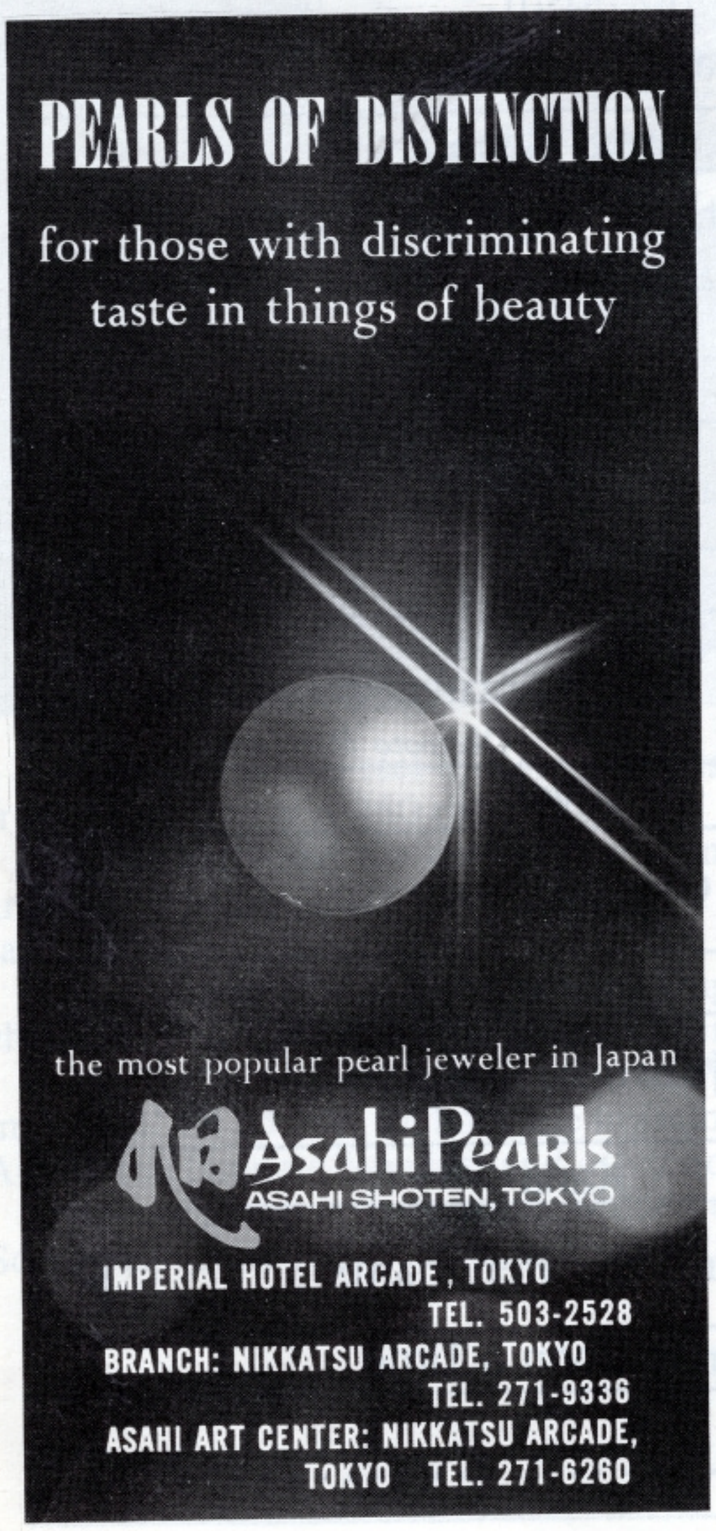
In addition, because *The East* is primarily a subscribers' magazine, intended for mailing overseas, the cover price is high inside the country and does not attract a great number of high-paying advertisers and so it is impossible for us to offer the fantastic discounts that other magazines sometimes do. *The East* is a magazine meant for its readers and therefore we need your understanding as well as your support to continue.

Secondly, with regard to your fear that the editorial aims of *The East* have changed, let us assure you that they have not. The primary purpose of the magazine is still to present Japanese society and culture in its various aspects. In accordance with readers' requests we have introduced the section on Topics but this occupies at most two or three pages. We have had one economic article per issue for some time, two at the most. While the range of subjects included under "Japanese culture" may be extended from time to time, culture and tradition are still the fundamental subject matter of *The East*. Far from avoiding or slighting these subjects, we are always trying to find new aspects of interest to introduce. We ask you to stick with us. History, Japanese traditions, culture, society offer an endless fund of material for us and for you.

Beg your pardon

In Vol. VIII No. 10, on p. 28 we involuntarily omitted acknowledgement of JNTO's kindness in allowing us to use the photograph of Mt. Fuji.

In Vol. IX No. 1, on p. 15 the word anthropology is misspelled twice.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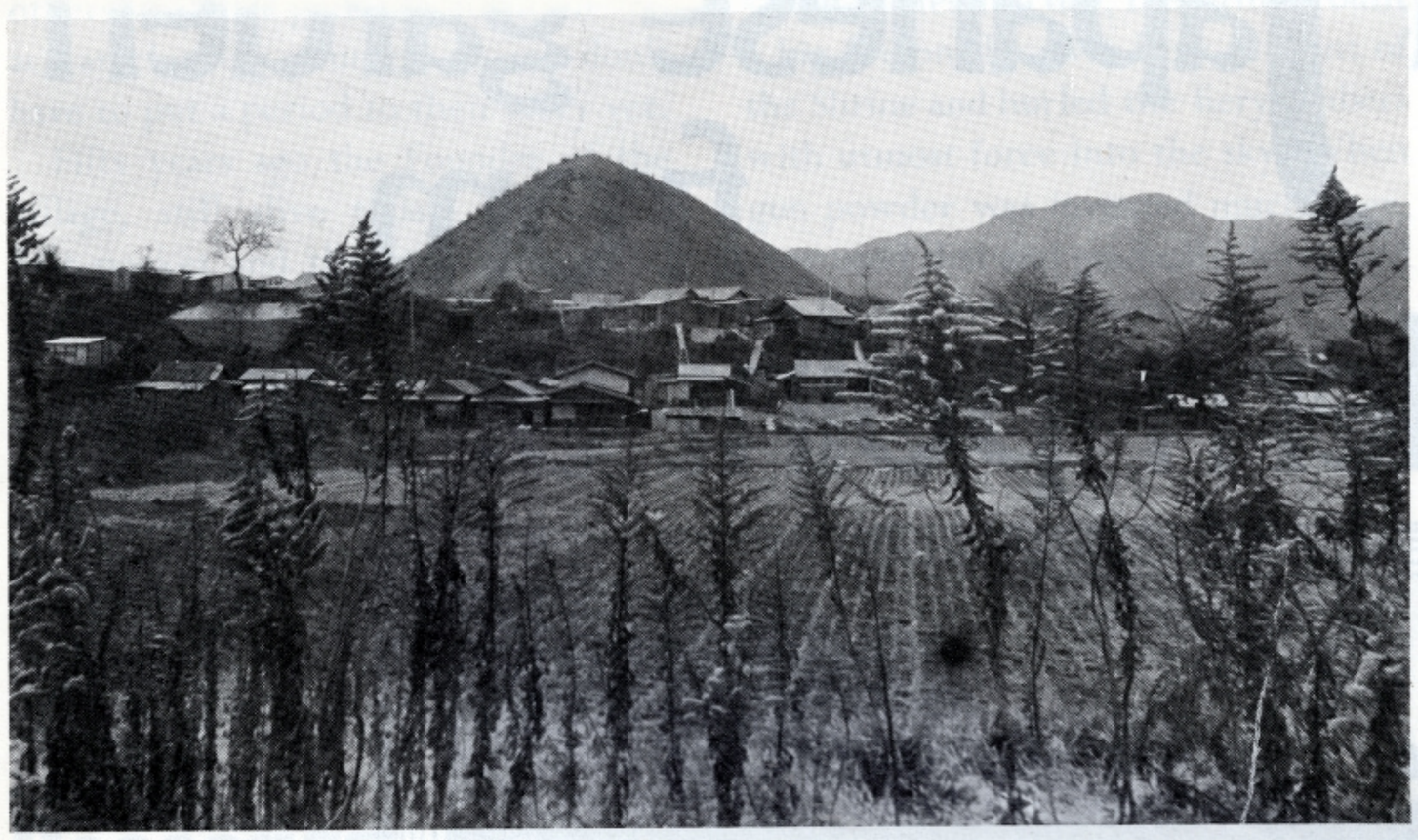
The Japanese Godfather



"If AMERICA sneezes, Japan catches cold," the economists are fond of snorting. Japan's resistance has gone up recently though, at least economically; yet the same instantaneous sympathetic response mechanism is still at work in the society at large. When the movie "The Godfather" hit Japan it really hit hard, with movie tickets sold out for months and the translation of Mario Puzo's book steady on the bestseller list. Both had good advertising of course, but you can't beat the Japanese for eating up what the ad men give them.

Or for coming out with their own version of whatever it is you're selling. We are now being treated to the story of "the Japanese Godfather" in a new movie comedy *Tenka o toru*, "King of the World."

The movie itself would be just a run-of-the-mill patch quilt of slapstick if it were not for the living breathing existence of a real Japanese Godfather who presided over Robber Village.

It's really there, a place you can go to (if not get in to) and toward the end of the year before last a special correspondent for the daily *Tōkyō Shinbun* did, stealthily. His story caused a minor sensation.

Robber Village (*Dorobō Mura*) sits in a valley in the north of Kyūshū, a part of the Chikuhō mining belt that runs through Fukuoka Prefecture. Dingy old shacks squat here and there among the weeds, surrounded by mountains of coal dust held fast by persistent grasses, all dismal reminders of the mine that once flourished and now lies deserted. Nobody around. It could be a ghost town setting for a cowboy thriller.

That's right, nobody in sight. They're all out of town on business.

Step closer to the black and destitute huts. Is this a hallucination or is that a huge air conditioner, that a stereo, that a color TV set and that an electric range? The inside is equipped for a king. But then that is what you should have expected from a village of two hundred people all related somehow who have spent the last fifty years in the occupation of picking pockets and shop-lifting on a national scale. Eighty-eight have at least one conviction to their names while two or three-timers are common. One home alone proudly sports a combined record of twenty times in the pokey. The total for the municipality is 308, but the fact that Robber Village was undiscovered as such until very recently shows how cleverly they operate.

And this is how they operate, or used to: In teams of ten each they would fly by plane from Fukuoka to one of the big cities, Osaka or Tōkyō, and head for the major department stores. They specialized in quality clothing and material. What they call their "air-sea operation" netted an average haul of one to two million yen (up to well over $670,000) *a day*. On a peak run they have added another zero to the figure. The Big Boss, with a dazzling eight convictions, directed their air-sea strategy toward picking pockets before the war and, with the addition of feminine hands after the war, to the big time in the department stores.

The goods were of course duly dispensed by a fully organized underground network of fences, and the forward-looking organization also included its own lawyers to spring the ones who slipped as well as welfare to compensate the families whose beloved were being detained.

But the *Tōkyō Shinbun* report threw the monkey wrench into everything. The police launched a full-scale counterattack and over fifty of the Big Boss' top men were nabbed in spots throughout the country. When they fell on Robber Village it was with all they had, even directing their advance by helicopter. It was the holocaust.

A Request to Our Readers

Because THE EAST is sent to you directly from Japan, we need to be notified of your **change of address** in plenty of time so that you won't miss a copy.

The mailmen do their best, but sometimes shipments are unavoidably delayed for as much as several weeks, and sometimes, though rarely, a package may go astray between the docks of Yokohama and Europe or San Francisco Bay.

If it should happen that you **miss an issue**, please notify our Subscription Department and we will try to trace the copy or send you a replacement.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. Thank you.

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For Reservations . . . AMEX Space Bank

Now the dismal and deserted village looks the same inside as out. Some of the old inhabitants are reported to be honestly employed for a change; but others are still getting caught in the act at clothing counters so we don't have to put a period to their story yet.

Fifty years ago the Founder of the village, still alive today, picked his first pocket and that was when it all began. Relatives, in-laws and relatives of relatives flocked to his side, until they were all just one big happy family. It's heartwarming. And they never once in that village had a robbery.

Peasants Rocket "Dragon Power"

ONE OF THE LEAST probable associations is peasants with rockets, and it originates not in our technology-oriented day but in the ancient days of mythology.

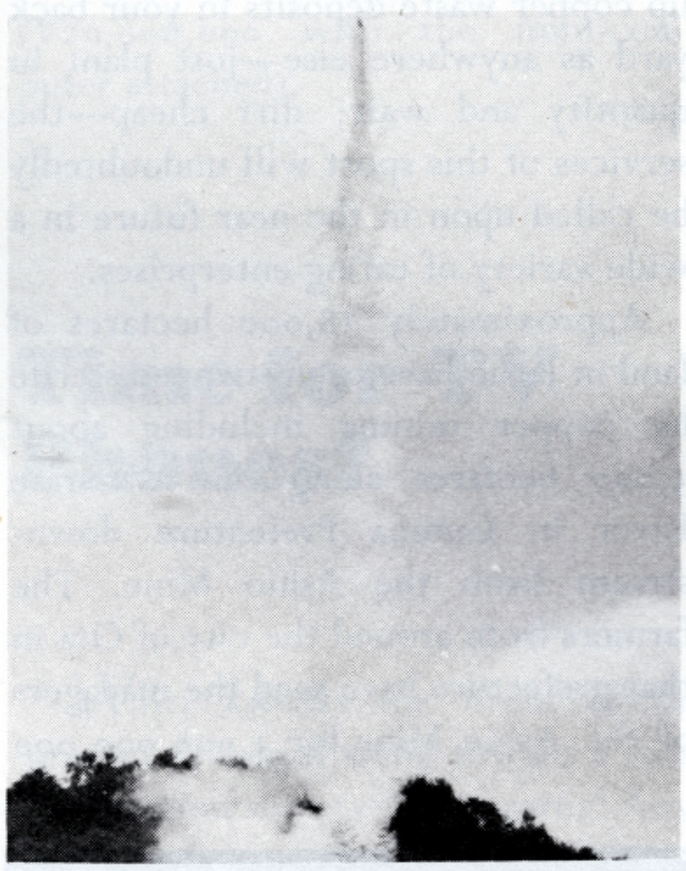
Farmers in the rural town of Yoshida, Chichibu County, Saitama Prefecture, north of Tōkyō, have revived the time-honored custom of launching the "rocket" for the first time in nine years, to add to the merry atmosphere of the village's autumn festival at Muku Shrine.

The rocket is made by loading gun powder in a pine wood pipe, 15.6 cm in diameter and 80 cm in length, which is fastened to a 13-meter-long bamboo pole. When ignited and fired from a tower 15 meters high, it shoots up to a height of two or three hundred meters like a dragon ascending into the sky. That is why they call it Ryūsei, "Dragon Power."

There are several versions of the origin of this rocket. According to the History of the Shrine, "The protégés of the tutelary deity in later years made it a custom to shoot fire into the sky in imitation of the light issued from the halberd held by Yamato Takeru no Mikoto, a legendary prince in Japan's mythological age; this act was held to please the god."

On the festival day, the farmers built a big fire on the river bank in front of the Shrine and hurled the fiery embers with utmost force into the sky. When gun powder was invented much later, they used that and gradually developed the Ryūsei they use now."

Another theory suggests that the



local farmers in the Sengoku Jidai invented it as a signal fire, but the authenticity is not known.

About two weeks before the festival, the farmers cut a big pine log in two, gouge out the insides to form cylinders, smooth the insides and make a pipe by joining the two parts. The pipe

is fastened by bamboo cords, and is slowly loaded with gun powder comprising carbon (6 parts), potassium nitrate (4) and sulphur (6). The powder-loaded pipe is tied to a long arrow. Its lower end is outfitted with ten to twenty umbrellas which unfold just before the rocket reaches the highest point in the air and fall down like so many parachutes. One rocket takes one month to complete.

On the recent festival day, twenty-seven rockets were fired, starting at eight in the morning. They roared high into the autumn sky emitting white smoke just like modern space rockets.

Amid applause by the onlookers, who numbered about ten thousand, they shot up and shrank to tiny dots in a matter of seconds. And in no time, umbrellas opened one by one as the Ryūsei lost their ascending force and slowly floated down to the mountains nearby. Scientists admire the Dragon Power: "As far as the principle goes, it is as good as a modern space rocket."

In Japan They Always Say—

Don't sleep with your head to the north, at least while you are alive to realize it.

The reason goes back to the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

Śākyamuni had been traveling about the kingdoms of India instructing people in the Path. One day he was resting in a grove near the city of Kusinagara when the lord of the grove who knew of the Buddha came and invited him to a fine feast. After partaking of the meal Śākyamuni went to the Sala Grove of the Mallas where he lay down with his head to the north and ended his 80 years of this life, passing into the highest realm of consciousness beyond the circle of death and rebirth. Ever after, it is said, in imitation of the Nirvana men have laid the bodies of their dead with the head pointing north.

Modern day science has proven that the Earth's magnetic field causes the blood to flow better when a person in the northern hemisphere lies down with his head toward the pole. But the force of traditional belief still far outweighs any advantages the northward position may offer to personal health.

Topics

Feed It On Copper

YE POOR POLLUTED of the earth, rejoice! We are told to fight fire with fire and so we turn a monster against The Monster. There has been discovered a plant that eats copper-poisoning copper!

The precious copper-eater belongs to the fern family and goes by the name of *hebi no negoza* or "snake's mattress," though if you prefer to address it less familiarly you may call it *Athyrium yokoscense*. The copper poisoning from the Ashio mine, Japan's earliest and one of its most devestated pollution pots, has divested all the mountains in its vicinity in Tochigi Prefecture of every green blessing they ever had, turning them all into what the Japanese call picturesquely "bald mountains." Choked out every green existence but one—the snakes' bedding.

Imagine! They examined the roots of the pertinacious herb and discovered 5000 PPM of copper. Rice and barley wither and die with five PPM of copper. What was this hebi no negoza doing with the other 4995 PPM or a thousand times the average tolerance? It was eating them. Nor is its science fiction voraciousness confined to Ashio Mine, as its alias "metal mountain fern" reveals.

Since it will just as happily gobble up copper waste deposits in your back yard as anywhere else—just plant in quantity and wait; dirt cheap—the services of this sport will undoubtedly be called upon in the near future in a wide variety of eating enterprises.

Approximately 28,000 hectares of land in Japan have been stripped sterile by copper mining including about 5,000 hectares along the Watarase River in Gunma Prefecture downstream from the Ashio Mine. The farmers from around the city of Ota in that prefecture have sued the managers of the Ashio Mine for 3,900,000,000

yen damages in compensation for "injury to our rice and barley crops which has greatly reduced the yield." The trial is still on now and everyone is watching the outcome with interest.

The sullied land can only be restored to its former fertility by one of two ways. All the copper-poisoned topsoil can be carted away and dumped somewhere and fresh soil brought in to replace it. Or the copper has to be taken back out of the soil. Nobody wants to go to the expense of the first possibility even if he is so happily optimistic as to think it can be done. Which leaves the other.

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Computerized Supersonic Cancer Detector

EARLY DETECTION is one of the most effective preventive measures against cancer, and the deadly disease is now under attack by every possible approach. A new approach—a super-

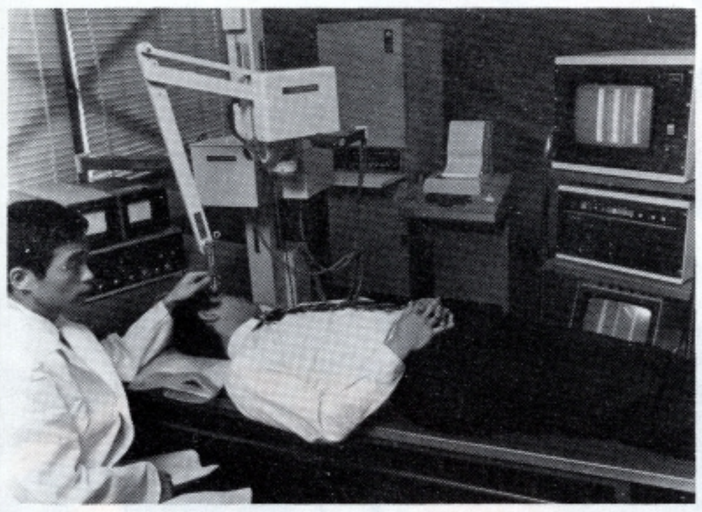
sonic diagnostic device using a computer—has been jointly developed by the Nippon Life Welfare Foundation and Tōkyō Shibaura Electric Co., Ltd.

The device ensures accurate diagnosis of cancer by applying two to five MHz supersonic waves to the human body and reading the reflective waves in contour lines of different colors with the computer.

This device scored a major breakthrough; it greatly reduces the detectable area from no smaller than 2 centimeters in diameter in the past to as small as 5 millimeters of the parts affected by liver or mammary cancer.

X-rays and radioisotopes, now in wide use, have occasionally had ill effects on pregnant women and embryos; continued application of radioactive rays has caused decomposition of bone marrow and damage to blood corpuscles in adults. These conventional methods have been criticized as "medical pollution."

The supersonic waves contain little danger as their energy is only one one-thousandth that of X-rays. Another feature of the new device is that it



allows diagnosis of the fleshy parts of the human body which have baffled X-rays and radioisotopes up to now.

The mini-computerized device presents two steps forward: 1) The outline and inner conditions of the affected part can be indicated in contour lines by means of different colors and positions; 2) It can eliminate the breathing noises that hamper diagnosis.

According to the Foundation, the new device has been applied to only a few clinical cases as yet—for cancer of the head, thyroid glands, breast, liver and bile ducts. Yet, it has proved remarkably effective in detecting cancer of the liver or breast in the early stages.

The results of the use of the new device will be reported at the 3rd International Medical Convention on Supersonic Waves to be held this year in Rotterdam of the Netherlands. Many inquiries have been received from interested parties in and outside the country. Last December, Tōkyō Shibaura Electric put the device on the market for ¥13,500,000 per unit (¥29,000,000 with the mini-computer attached).

Time for TV Phones?

Who knows the merit of the present universal trend toward a total information society? Who cares? Anyhow Japan has joined the march.

In anticipation of the increasing need to handle considerable amounts of information and data, the Ibaraki Electrical Communications Laboratory of the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation has recently built a long-distance test underground wave guide employing millimeter waves that ensures communications of higher frequency in greater amount than the ordinary microwaves. The wave guide, 22.5 kilometers long, is claimed to be the world's longest.

Millimeter-waves are higher in frequency by one unit than the microwaves used for telephones and TV relay through underground cables or satellite stations. (Their wave length is shorter by one unit, ranging from one millimeter to ten millimeters.) To avoid possible absorption into steam and oxygen when issued into the air, the millimeter-waves are passed through the pipe-like wave guide.

Made of steel pipe 5.1 centimeters across the inside diameter, the wave guide is encased in another steel pipe 15 centimeters in diameter and buried

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1.2 meters underground. The wave guide is designed to guage how much the waves weaken during their passage through the completed wave guide line. It will be put to practical use by 1975.

When the millimeter-waves are actually used, a single wave guide will be able to handle 300,000 telephone circuits and 2,500 channels of TV phones (1 MHz). The NTT Public Corporation expects that the new invention will be used for TV phones and data communications between Tōkyō and other major cities like Osaka, Nagoya and Yokohama. TV phones will be actually used before long, but the Corporation does not expect a great immediate demand because the expenses involved are high at present.

Characters and picture drawn by the graphtyper

The combination of motions makes it possible to delineate any configuration with short horizontal lines in any direction.

The machine, therefore, can handle more than a limited number of letters such as an alphabet or numerical figures. By making the receiver memorize the different system, the writing of any country in the world can be reproduced. It can even draw you their pictures.

Messages are communicated by electric code in the same way as with prior teletype mechanisms, but LSI (large scale integration) in the receiver changes the system governing the motions of pen and paper according to the code. Give the receiver the proper "brain" and it will write in any language in the world.

The ballpoint pen does not have to be any better than the one you probably have in your pocket, though in order to insure operation in excessive cold, lack of gravity and other extreme conditions it is equipped with the one-million-dollar ballpoint pen developed by the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration for use by their space pilots.

The Machine Draws Pictures

PRINTING TYPE was a magnificent step forward say all the textbooks and non-McLuhanites. Now we are taking another giant step forward by going back to the writing hand. The "hand," however, belongs to a machine. Kokusai Denshin Denwa Co., Ltd. has come up with a "typeless teletype" that writes anything on paper with just a ballpoint pen.

Called a graphtyper, this new medium of communication follows the pattern of the average teletype machine in that messages received are typed on keys that punch holes in tape, but the receiver takes the initiative from there, writing configurations (letters or characters) with the ballpoint pen according to the tape code at a speed of 20 letters a second. This is a big innovation.

As the receiver gets the code, the paper moves back and forth in one direction while the pen moves back and forth in the other on the paper.

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Employment Practice, Corporate Loyalty and Diligence in Japan

by Hazama Hiroshi, Assistant Professor of Industrial Sociology at the Tōkyō University of Education

Illustration by Yutenji Saburo

THE OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) sent a survey team to Japan in 1970. Their purpose—to probe the secret that underlies Japan's spectacular economic growth in recent years from the viewpoint of labor-management relations.

The results of the survey were disclosed in May, 1972, in the form of the *Report on the Survey of Japanese Labor*, which places an emphasis on Japanese wage and employment practices such as are characterized by lifetime employment and seniority wages.

These practices, the Report states, have led to a marked stability in employment, have heightened workers' loyalty toward their companies, improved the efficiency of investment in employee training, and facilitated technical innovations that often cause friction in Western countries. As a consequence, they have composed a signal factor in the country's high level of economic growth.

The Report is not the first to point out the particular features of Japanese employment practices; many foreign researchers, especially Americans, have done so before. In the past, however, these points were attributed to the nation's backwardness and their elimination was considered necessary for the modernization of labor-management relations.

However, as indicated in the Report, since Japan scored her miraculous economic upsurge these features have come to be viewed in a much different light. They are the key to the secret of Japan's economic growth.

With the intensifying activity in international exchange, foreign diplomats, senior businessmen, researchers and tourists as well as the general public have had increasing opportunities to come in contact with the Japanese people. As more and more people work in Japan and more and more Japanese work overseas, they have added chances to witness each other's unmasked lives. Most of the foreigners, with few exceptions, have remarked the Japanese workers' corporate loyalty and diligence, to which they attribute the country's outstanding economic growth.

This corporate loyalty and diligence is by no means unconnected with the special employment prac-

tice, as is indicated by foreign researchers as well as the OECD Report. Internally both have deep connections with each other. Generally speaking, the special employment practice has produced the strong corporate loyalty and industriousness, which have worked as an important social motivation in the rapid economic development.

Understanding the close relationship is far from easy because the problem is not merely one of employment but involves the underlying Japanese social and cultural environment to which it is deeply related. In this article I would like to take a look into the social incentive by depicting the lifeof an imaginary typical worker.

Mr. J., about 40, is a blue-collar worker at a big Japanese company which has a well-organized employment system. In the shop, he is the foreman of the shop, and at home he is the head of a family of four including two children.

Like many workers his age, Mr. J was born in a farming family. Today, more than seventy percent of the children from farming homes receive higher education, but at the time he finished compulsory education only a limited number of the graduates could manage to go on to higher schools.

Children from ordinary or substandard farming families had to seek employment upon graduation from junior high school. In such cases, according to the Japanese traditional custom, only the eldest son could succeed to the family business of farming and the other children had to look for employment elsewhere.

Mr. J, the second son in his family, was no exception. In seeking his job, what mattered most to him was not the content of the work but the scale of the company. The reason is that big companies usually offer better employment conditions and more stabilized employment than small companies. Thus, Mr. J chose a big company to work for.

As an ambitious lad, Mr. J did want to place an emphasis on the content of the job, but finally he acceded to the advice and suggestions offered by his parents and teachers based on their own experiences.

His decision needs some explanation. There is little difference in the starting wages between a big company and a small company. Sometimes a small company even offers a better salary. The big company, however, never fails to offer a pay raise every year; as time goes on, the workers who have rendered longer service to the company receive higher wages accordingly in conformity with the seniority wage system.

Small companies do offer annual pay raises, but on a smaller scale than big companies. Furthermore, small companies are more vulnerable to yearly business fluctuations and may be unable to offer pay raises in recessions.

Japanese companies, big or small, all give their employees two bonuses a year, summertime and year-end. These amount to four or five months' salary in big companies, and only one or two months' pay in small companies. There is little difference in wages for a young employee between big and small companies, but for an employee of about 40 years of age in a big company, like Mr. J, his annual income is 1.5 times higher than his counterpart in a small company.

Big companies offer not only better employment conditions but much more extensive welfare benefits than small companies, as will be explained later.

Moreover, the practice of lifetime employment is universally established in big companies but small companies rarely espouse it as standard procedure. The lifetime employment system guarantees employment with the company until the employee retires at a certain age. This practice, though only customary and not required by law, has been observed by big companies for years.

Big companies provide their employees who retire at the age limit with a retirement allowance in an amount that increases at the rate of one month's salary for every year of service. To an employee who retires after forty years' service, they offer forty months' retirement allowance as well as help in finding a post-retirement job.

Big companies are also more attractive in terms of social esteem. To exaggerate a bit, even an unskilled worker or a handyman in a big company can enjoy higher social esteem than a skilled worker in a small company. Such high social standing is of little value in big cities, but it makes a great difference in outlying cities and rural communities. One example is the occasion of an arranged marriage. A person working in a big company stands a fairer chance of making a good match.

By means of favorable employment conditions like these, especially seniority wages and lifetime employment guarantees, big companies can secure the desired labor by minimizing the labor turnover for their own benefit. However, many foreigners may have misgivings about such a practice—regarding the lack of flexibility in employment.

Companies must retain a measure of flexibility in the amount of labor in their employ so that they can adjust to favorable or unfavorable business conditions. They must eliminate disabled or aged employees; but this is not possible

under the lifetime employment system.

To offset this problem, big companies with the lifetime employment system have taken many precautionary measures. First, they limit the number of so-called "regular employees," who are entitled to the lifetime employment guarantee. The number is held down to what is appropriate for a time of adversity. When business is good, the companies employ "temporary" workers, who are not qualified for lifetime employment, or use subcontractors.

Second, big companies eliminate incapable workers by adopting a special employment method. Very favorable working conditions attract many applicants, often ten times more than needed. They are put through severe screening—tests of scholarship ability, interviews, aptitude tests, physical exams, reviews of personal references and scholarly achievements; there is little chance for incapable persons to pass through this intensive screening.

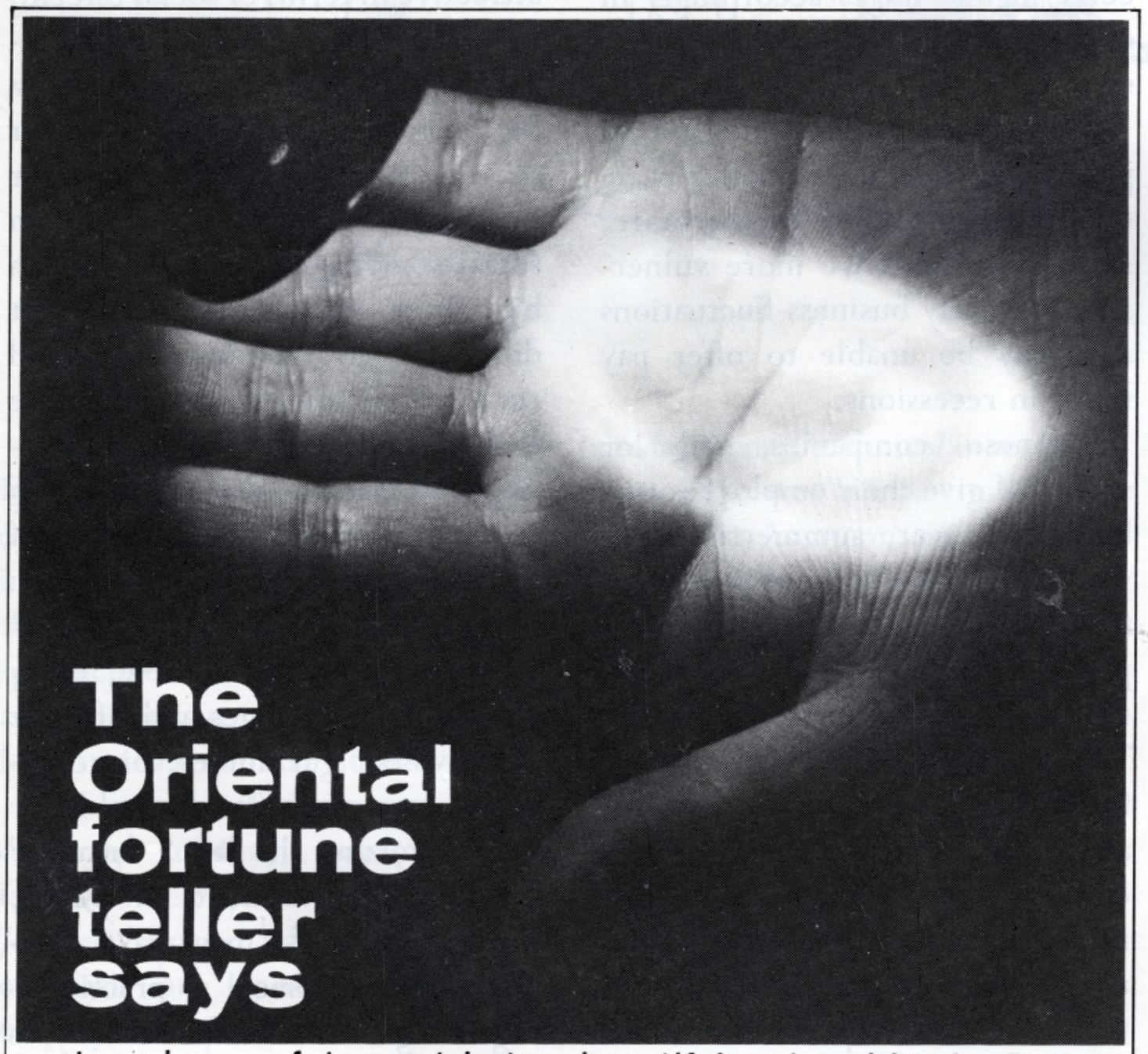
Thirdly, big companies usually set the age limit at 55, or nearly ten years lower than the Western age limit and, therefore, run less risk of senility in their employees.

Foreigners often comment on the Japanese seniority wage system that it helps settle workers in their assignments, but it may be of little use as an incentive for improving efficiency. Under the seniority system, wages are raised every year, except in cases of prolonged absence, but at a rate which is not equalized for all employees. The rate varies with individual capability and achievement. This variation serves as an incentive. The seniority wages apply only to what is called the basic wage (accounting for sixty or seventy percent of the whole wages) and not to fringe benefits and additional allowances, which are awarded in the form of payments by results or job allowances.

Mr. J successfully passed the severe employment test and entered the company. But he was not assigned to any specific position at once. First, he was trained in the company's technical training institute.

The method of technical training displays some of the characteristic features of the large Japanese company. At the institute he was given not only technical training but also the same education as is offered in an technical high school. What differed from an ordinary technical school was that the trainees were accommodated in company boarding facilities, with food and housing provided free of charge during the training period.

In addition to the free training, he was also granted a monthly allowance. Only living was not so liberal as it might have been in a technical institute. What especially matters here is that the trainees, upon graduation from the institute are treated within the company like the graduates from a senior high school, but outside the company they are viewed merely as junior high school graduates. Therefore, the graduates from the company school find it more advantageous to stay in the company, thereby assuring the company a greater return for the investment in the training of their young workers.



I see in your future a trip to a beautiful and exciting land...

I see you making new friends among people who once were strangers, learning about their customs, arts, their feelings and their economy...

I see you attaining the supreme Enlightenment...

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Mr. J did think of leaving the company on several occasions for a better job, but with his education and experience, he realized, he could expect to discover few better positions with better conditions. And so he finds himself settled in the present company.

He is highly dependent upon his company in his daily life. Before he married, he lived in the company boarding house, and after marriage he was supplied with a house by the company. Throughout, the rental was very cheap because of financial aid received from the company. If he had rented an ordinary house, he would have had to pay four or five times more rental every month.

Food and clothing are available at the supermarket run by the company—at twenty or thirty percent lower than market prices. TV sets, refrigerators and other relatively expensive goods are offered on the installment plan.

In recent years with the shortened working hours, he has had more and more spare time, but for his increasing leisure activities, he depends upon his company. The company sponsors many sports events and social clubs, providing various sporting facilities such as a gymnasium and athletic grounds as well as entertainment facilities such as a clubhouse and theaters. It also maintains rest houses for its employees in country summer and winter resorts. The employees and their family members can use these facilities at a discount rate.

By established custom, employees in the same shop go out on group tours or to see plays together. Such recreational group activities are very popular.

Mr. J is also presented with gratuities directly by the company or through the company's mutual benefit association on such occasions as his marriage, his wife's delivery, his children's entrance into school, or with solatia on occasions such as his wife's or children's illness. When his children grow, he may find his house too small. If he wants to build his own house, the company will also offer its good offices in finding land for the house. It further lends schooling expenses for his children, and provides the students' boarding facilities. Mr. J's two children may use these facilities and conveniences in the future.

Thus the welfare facilities for the employees of a big company are extensive, and the company's relationship with its employees is very close. This "company welfare" may be compared to social welfare in advanced countries.

As is typified by Mr. J, a Japanese employee in a big company enjoys a stable life with the lifetime employment, seniority wage, technical training and other company welfare accommodations—as long as he stays within the company. He also has a psychological sense of stability. Needless to say, these elements compose the foundation of the employee's high corporate loyalty.

The worker's enthusiasm for his work is further promoted by the practice whereby the working conditions are decided by the individual company. In particular, raises in the basic wage and the two yearly bonuses are decided through negotiations between management and labor every year in what are called the "spring labor offensive" and the "autumn labor offensive."

As the Japanese labor unions in big companies are organized by individual company and not by trade, the negotiations between management and labor are conducted by and within each company. And the results of the negotiations greatly depend upon the business results of the company for each fiscal term.

In short, a company's business record is in a close interrelation with its workers' wages. If the former is unfavorable, so is the latter. Hence even the lowest-ranking employee has a great interest in the business record of his company. To receive better treatment, he naturally works hard. This is one of the reasons for the exceptional diligence of Japanese workers.

The Japanese employment practice manifested primarily in big companies helps instill a great corporate loyalty and assiduousness in their workers. From this standpoint, it has certainly had favorable results for the nation as a whole, but on the other hand, the many social problems it has produced in the course of development cannot be overlooked. Among others two are particularly important.

One is the unfair differentiation in working conditions and living standard between workers in big and small companies. Workers in big companies do enjoy better working conditions under the stabilized employment system. This, however, is at the expense of workers in the many small companies who have to put up with unstable employment and worse working conditions.

The other problem is the question of whether the workers in big companies are really happy. In fact, their stabilized employment and better living standard are accorded in exchange for their physical or spiritual bondage, for they are not free to engage in their favorite jobs and financial reasons may block them from leaving their shops even if they wish to go. In viewing the big picture of Japanese labor-management relations few have touched yet on the basic problem of human freedom. 東

Daily Living

The Hanging Scroll

THE SPARSELY furnished Japanese room is practically devoid of decoration, the only exception being the alcove set aside primarily for display purposes, the tokonama (see Vol. VII No. 3). It might be more proper to say "set back" in a corner of the room rather than "set aside."

In the tokonama you will always find a scroll hanging on the wall with flowers in a vase and other sundries before it. The scroll is changed from season to season through the passing months so that the subject matter is always appropriate to the time of year, felicitous pictures of pine, bamboo and plum or tortoises and cranes for New Year's, plum blossoms for February, the dolls for March and so on.

We do not know exactly when the practice of mounting painting and calligraphy and displaying the scrolls for the sake of appreciation began. The characters 掛軸, in Japanese *kake-jiku* or "hanging scroll," already appeared in China in the northern Sung Period (386–580) to signify scrolls hung as objects of worship. Thus we are safe at least in saying that hanging scrolls have a religious origin.

Backings were first used to reinforce painting and calligraphy in the T'ang Period of China (618-907) and mountings of cloth and paper were introduced. When the mounted paintings were wound around bamboo spindles, the hanging scroll took on pretty much the form we know today.

Having developed in China, the hanging scroll was transmitted to Japan. When the Priest Kūkai came back from T'ang China in the early Heian Period (794–1191), he brought numerous Buddhist texts and treatises with him as well as mandala and other Buddhist paintings. After its introduction as a form for religious painting, the hanging scroll achieved great popularity in the Kamakura Period, a period of particularly vigorous activity by a number of Buddhist sects. The popular enjoyment of tea ceremony in the Muromachi Period advanced its vogue even further, for appreciation of the scroll hanging in the tokonoma composed an important part of tea ceremony. By this time the function of the hanging scroll had become quite secularized.

Butsu-ga

The places for exhibiting the scroll had changed as well. As religious paintings, they were originally hung in the center of Buddhist temple buildings or decorated the screens and walls of the temple, where they were represented no more than one element of a room in a religious building. From the temples they were drafted for use in the homes of nobles and rich families. The tokonoma was perfected in the Muromachi Period (16th century) with the maturation of *shoin-zukuri* type construction (see Vol. VII No. 10) of which the tokonoma formed an important part.

The mountings were altered and elaborated to harmonize with the new tokonoma while the tokonoma became almost secondary to the scroll; originally a study area, it gradually evolved into a place to show off the scroll.

As a result, since the Muromachi Period, painting and calligraphy have, with the notable exceptions of screen, wall and door paintings, been viewed almost exclusively in the house mounted on scrolls and in particular on scrolls in the tokonoma.

The subject matter for the scrolls generally includes both painting and calligraphy. More specific

categories can be discerned as: *Butsu-ga* 仏画, Buddhist subjects; *ko-ga* 古画 or "old paintings" encompassing landscape, flowers and birds, figures, poetic illustrations; decorative paintings; realistic paintings; "new" Japanese style paintings; *bokuseki* 墨跡 or calligraphy by priests; *ko-hitsu,* 古筆, old calligraphy; *gasan* 画賛, or painting inscriptions; letters; larger square leaves called *shikishi* 色紙; long thin strips called *tanzaku* 短冊; smaller square leaves called *kaishi* 懐紙.

Paintings of similar content mounted with like materials form sets. These have certain common subjects. A pair of scrolls is known as *sō-fuku* 双幅 and may depict, say, persimmons and chestnuts or a tiger and a dragon. The famous Mu Ch'i paintings of the bodhisattva Kannon flanked by a crane and monkeys are a representative set of three. Four may show the four seasons, six, paintings from a six-panel screen and eight the eight views of a famous place. Twelve scrolls illustrate the twelve months. When the scrolls in these sets are displayed all at once they generally all have equal importance except in the case of three. The middle of three is always most emphasized because the central deity and two attendants is a very common theme in Buddhism and Buddhist art.

The Mounting

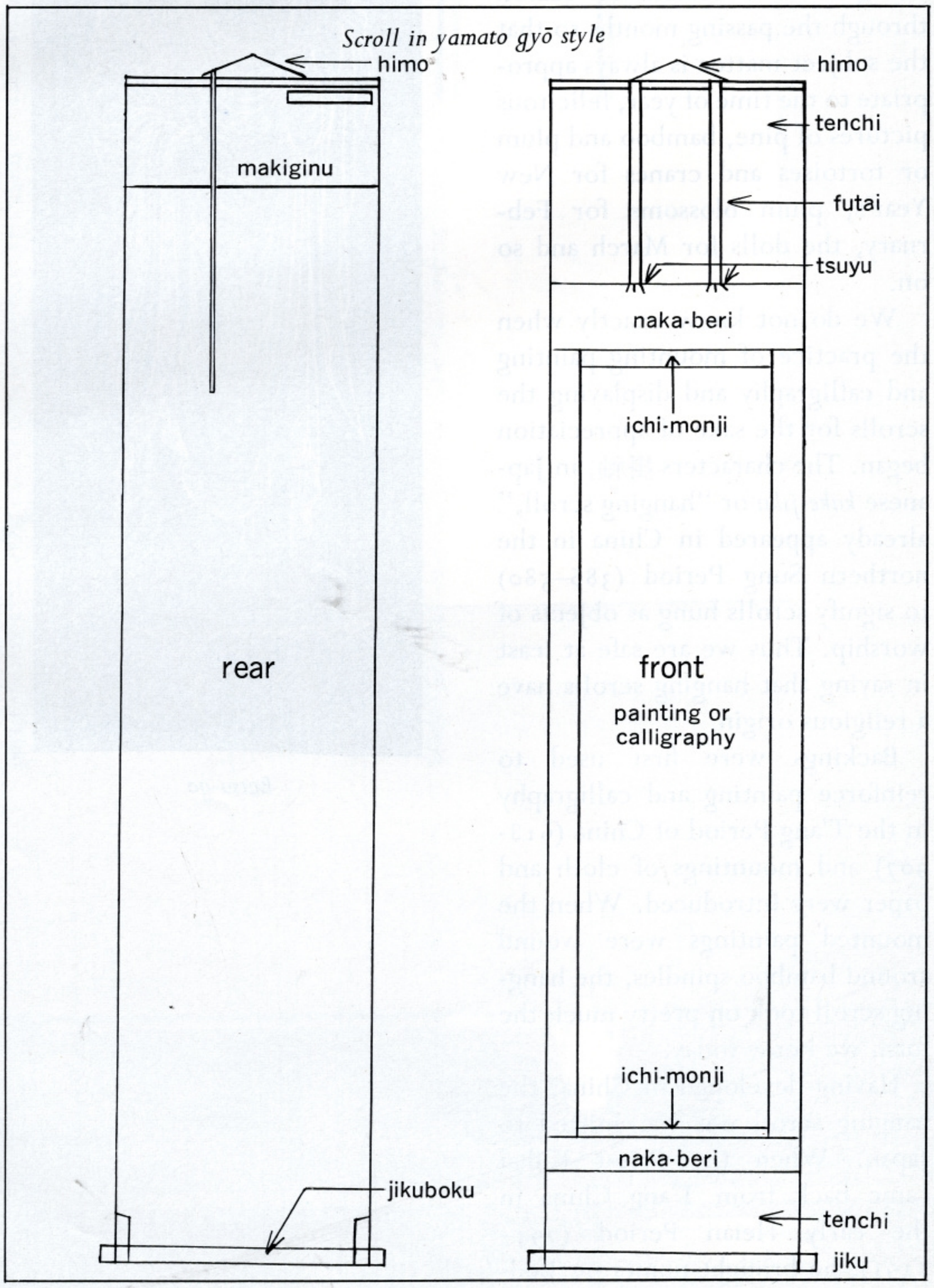
Painting and calligraphy can be mounted on scrolls in conformation with one of several different styles.

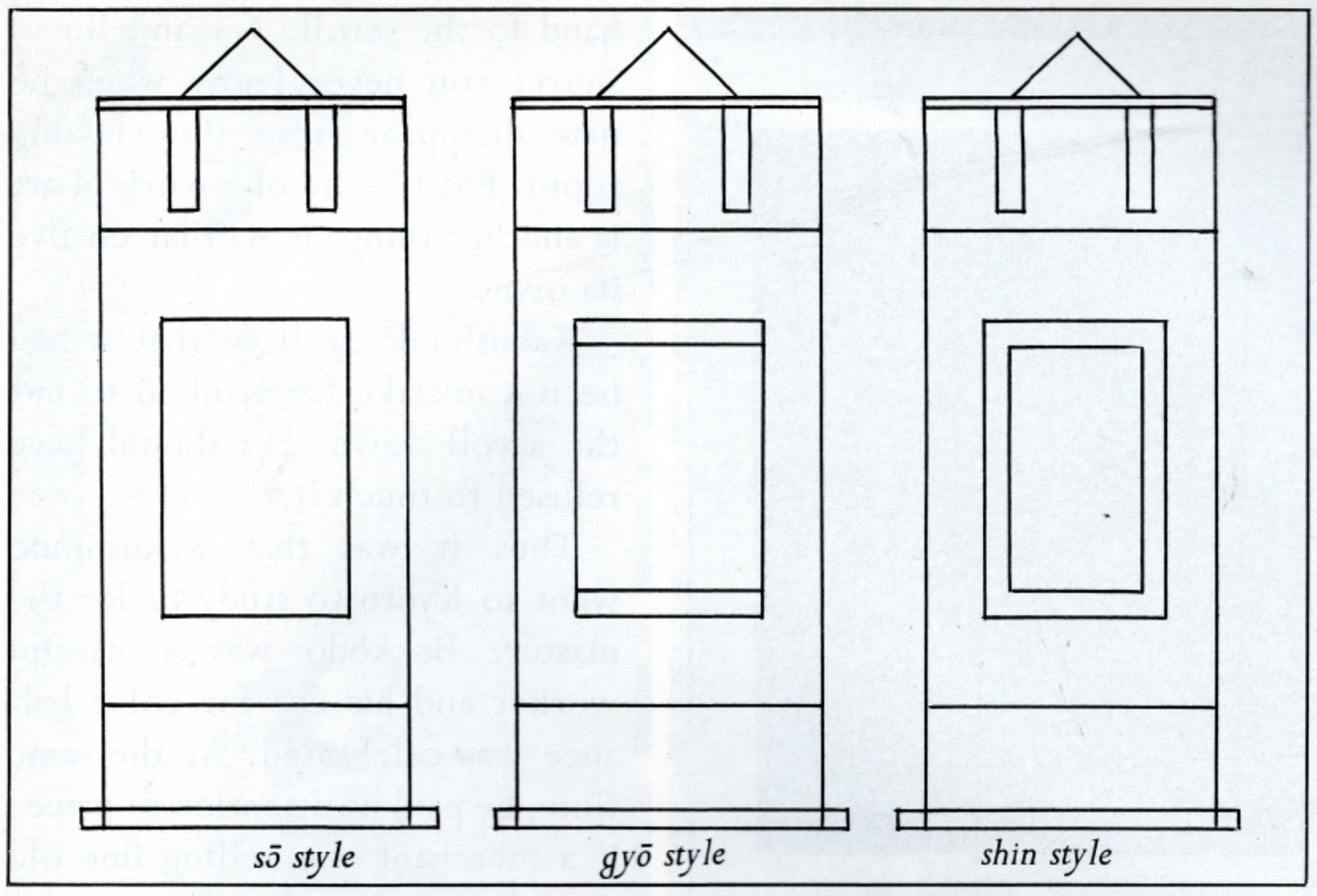
The *bunjin* 文人 or literati style first developed in China and was later introduced into Japan. It is a simple style with no decorative hanging ribbons but with thin borders along the long sides of the scroll. A style that gained wide use in the Ming Period in China, it was known to the Japanese as *Minchō-shitaté* 明朝位立. Not surprisingly, this type of mounting was applied to Chinese paintings or paintings in Chinese styles such as literati painting but was not considered appropriate for particularly Japanese painting styles (such as in *yamato-e*, "Japanese painting," or in illustrated handscrolls depicting popular tales).

Yamato style mounting, like yamato-e painting, was a product of Japan. This form of mounting breaks down further into three different types: *shin* 真, *gyō* 行, *sō* 草. Buddhist paintings were mounted in the shin style, while most other types of painting and calligraphy were mounted in the gyō style. Sō style mounting has about it a feeling of the capricious and individual which makes it suitable for works of somewhat divergent tastes, such as might be presented to the view of guests at tea ceremony.

You might be interested to know the names of the components of the most common form of Japanese mounting, that is the gyō

Scroll in yamato gyō style





style (see figure).

1) *ichi-monji* 一文字—The finest cloth of all is used for this, the most important part of the mounting; the two strips separating the picture from the main mounting may be made of gold or silver brocade, gold leaf on lacquer or some other precious material. Because the colors border on the picture the choice of this cloth is the touchiest strain on the mounter's skill and most directly reflects his taste.

2) *naka-beri* 中縁り or naka-mawashi 中廻し—middle mounting section

3) *tenchi* 天地—portions above and below the naka-beri. The quality of the cloth used is graded downwards from the ichi-monji to the naka-beri to the least fine in the tenchi.

4) *fūtai* 風帯—the two decora tive ribbons hanging from the top of the scroll divide it into equal thirds. The Chinese wrote the name for these with the characters 驚燕, which mean "startling (驚) swallows (燕)" because, they said, the fluttering ribbons were attached to scare off swallows that were dirtying the scrolls. They are usually made of the same material as is used in the ichi-monji. Some mounters have used the cloth of the naka-beri but this kind of mounting is considered inferior. The fringe protruding from the bottoms of the fūtai have a most poetic name: *tsuyu* 露, dew. They are usually white but some people prefer pale yellow or purple.

5) *jikuboku* 軸木—you cannot see this cylinder because the scroll is wound around it but Japanese cedar is used.

6) *jiku* 軸 —these are the fittings for either end of the jikuboku cylinders. They provide another occasion for displaying the craft and taste of the mounter as well as the taste and budget of the owner. Any material may be used, from ivory, sandalwood, bone, bamboo, gold or silver to crystal, ceramic or elaborately coated lacquer with designs in relief.

7) *himo* 紐—this string for hanging the scroll is generally woven of white, black and blue threads, but for certain paintings and calligraphy they may be plain brown and paintings of beautiful girls may call for purple.

8) *makiginu* 巻絹this backing acts as a kind of cover and only comes into view when the scroll is rolled up. Maki means rolled and kinu is silk, though the silk in the makiginu is very thin, light yellow for paintings and beige for calligraphy and literati paintings.

The Craftsman

JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE changed radically after the war. Western influences became visible everywhere; a Western sharpness was even interjected into the Japanese rooms, gradually reducing the size of the tokonoma. The mounting styles for Japanese painting altered too, from the hanging scroll for display in the tokonoma to frames in the European manner. Like craftsmen in all the other specialized trades, the man capable of mounting pictures on hanging scrolls in the old way has become a distinct rarity.

One of these rarities is a gifted Tōkyō craftsman named Kakushindō. "For Japanese paintings it's Kakushindō" is almost a byword, and Yokoyama Taikan along with many other contemporary Japanese painters went to him to have all their best work mounted.

Born in the 25th year of Meiji, he is 82 this year. His father was an army doctor who died when he was 16, leaving him in very bad straits. He first entered apprenticeship at that time, to a mounter named Kanjidō in Tōkyō.

One year later he was bound for Kyōto, to the workshop of a famous Kyōto mounting master, Bokkōdō.

What had turned his footsteps in that direction was a scroll that had been brought to Kanjidō. The man who had brought in the scroll had said that it was too long to hang in his tokonoma and he wanted it cut off. The scroll measured about seven feet five inches in height and was two feet five inches wide, mounted beautifully in yamato style. The ends of the jiku had been

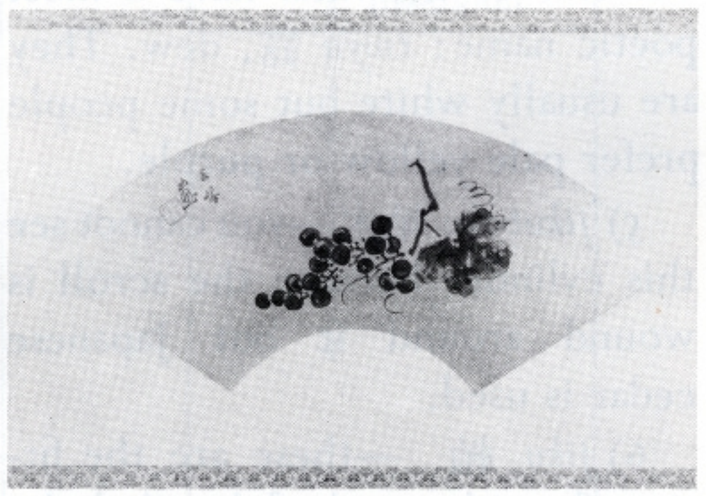
shikishi

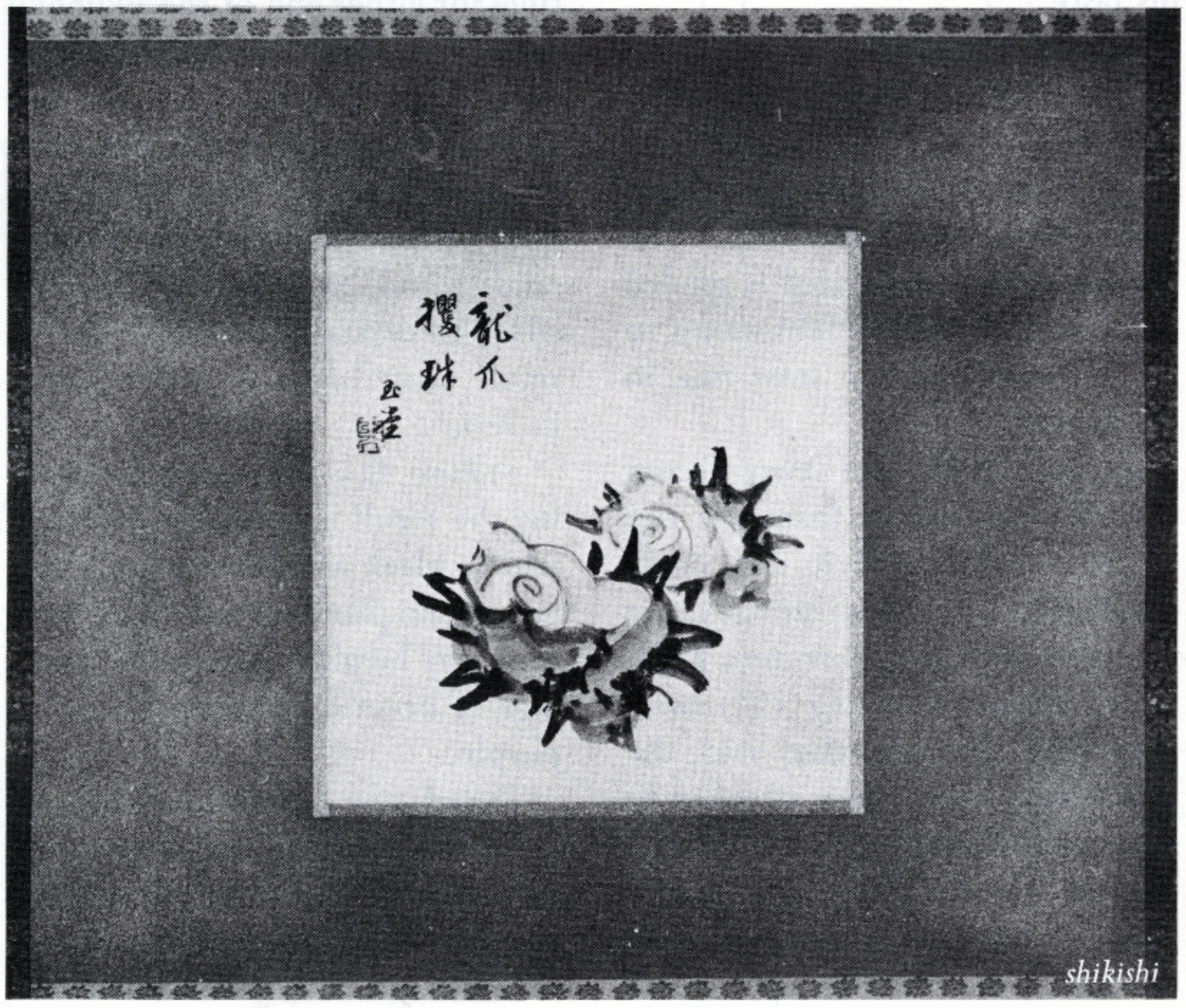
trimmed with smooth brilliance, obviously by a very fine blade. When asked, Kanjidō replied that it had surely been mounted in Kyōto.

At any rate, he had done as his customer wished and cut the seven feet five inches down to an even seven feet. When Kanjidō got done Kakushindō realized that it was not the same scroll; it had been changed completely.

A story is told about the great tea master Sen no Rikyū. One of Hideyoshi's retainers, Shibayama Kenmotsu, received a fine and famous calligraphy scroll from a friend. It was too long for his tokonoma and he went to Rikyū with the request that Rikyū shorten it for him. Rikyū refused. They were beginning to get angry at his obstinacy when Rikyū suggested briefly, "You should raise the ceiling."

The calligraphy and the mounting are in perfect harmony, he was saying, and if you insist on viewing it in your tokonoma, far better to modify the ceiling than to put a





shikishi

hand to the scroll. A man's life is short; you never know when he may disappear from the viewing room. But the life of a work of art is another thing. It will far outlive its owner.

Kakushindō realized that it had been a mistake for Kanjidō to cut the scroll down. He should have refused to touch it.

Thus it was that Kakushindō went to Kyōto to study under the master. Bokkōdō was a careful worker and his eye for color balance was celebrated. At the same time, he paid no attention to price; if a merchant was selling fine old cloth he would pay any amount for it. He always kept a stock of pieces of material that ran anywhere from hundreds to thousands of yen per square inch, so that he could fill any order at any time, mounting the masterpieces he received on cloth that complemented them in quality.

Kakushindō enumerates the three crucial points that separate the more from the most skilled in his craft:

First is the dispensation of color

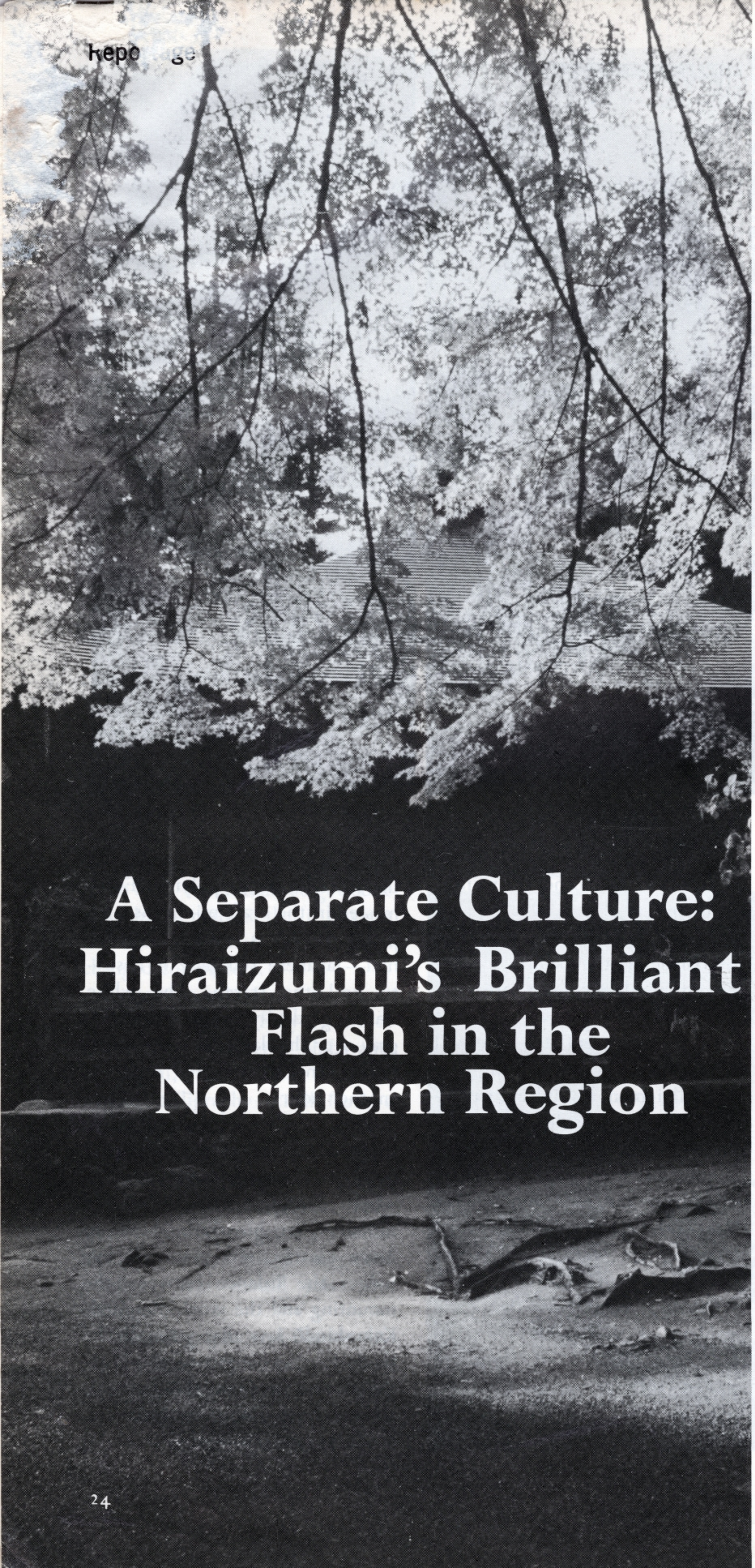
a set of three scrolls

values. Cloth and paper for mounting must be selected with great care to enhance the painting or calligraphy, which is after all the center of attention. A poorly chosen color scheme can detract from even the finest painting. For example, many customers come in with paintings of snow scenes and ask to have them mounted on gray, to help bring out the bitter cold feeling of winter. Kakushindō tells them that they do not want gray, they want brown or another color. Since such landscapes are usually painted with ink, they need a strong color to emphasize the gray and black ink tones. A gray background would only undo all the painter's efforts to evoke the chilly atmosphere. Kakushindō says he often takes a hint in mounting from the colors in the clothes the painter is wearing.

The second critical point lies in not damaging the painting. Japanese mineral pigments are dissolved in glue (*nikawa*). If water gets on the pigments the glue will dissolve and they will run. Red mineral pigment and ink are particularly prone to this disaster. In the process of mounting a painting a mounter has to turn the dampened paper over and over innumerable times so he runs a very high risk of damaging the work if he is not exceedingly cautious.

Thirdly, you have the basic problem of the mounter's technical skill. Paper and cloth are applied with paste, therefore he must be able to induce just the right consistency in his paste for the material he is applying. Every master in the craft mixes his own paste. Wood is always used for fuel—Japanese red pine is best—to boil the starch. The white starch gradually turns brownish-gray over the flame, is taken off to harden and then boiled hard for another hour.

Then finally there is one more thing that must not be forgotten: precision of measurement. Nowhere does the character of the mounter, or his skill, show up more clearly. His practiced eye judges the balance between the mounting and the work mounted. Kakushindō says that generally he tends to give length to the horizontal and shorten the vertical, always trying for compactness, economy and no waste. (S.N.)園



A Separate Culture: Hiraizumi's Brilliant Flash in the Northern Region

Blossoms in the North

In 1157, the celebrated poet and itinerant priest Saigyō visited Hiraizumi in one corner of the Ou district, then the northern frontier of the country. Fujiwara Hidehira, the influential lord of that district, must have wished the distinguished poet of his time to see the glorious achievements his clan had wrought. The following spring Hidehira held a cherry blossom viewing party on nearby Mt. Tabashiné to which he invited Saigyō as his main guest. Hidehira may have detained Saigyō for six months over the winter just to show off his cherry blossoms.

kiki mo sezu
Tabashine-yama no
sakura-bana
Yoshino no hoka ni
kakarubeshi to wa

How beautiful are the cherry blossoms of Mt. Tabashiné in this alien land which I have heard so little of. What a surprise to see cherry blossoms in a distant northern region so splendid as to compare favorably with the famous flowers of Mt. Yoshino. The poem admiring the culture of Hiraizumi by praising the cherry blossoms must have been just what Hidehira wanted to hear.

Five centuries later, in May, 1669, the immortal master of haiku, Matsuo Bashō, paid a visit there. Most probably he had in mind the above poem by a poet he held in particular esteem and the Hiraizumi he had praised as well as the tragedy of the Fujiwara clan which had perished completely only one hundred years after building up its own culture.

The Hiraizumi Bashō saw was no more than a humble out-of-the-way hamlet. He climbed a hill called Takadaté via a narrow mountain path choked with summer grasses and weeds. On the top of the hill

he found a small temple dedicated to Yoshitsuné (whose account will be given later in this article). Bashō must have stood there long, enchanted by the scenery extending below.

Around where Mt. Tabashiné slopes down meanders the district's biggest river, the Kitakami, reflecting the dull summer sunlight on its waters. His eyes must have caught sight of the Koromo River flowing into the Kitakami River. There were no traces to recall the past glory of the three generations of the Fujiwara clan.

What dominated his view was the extensive plain left to the mercy of wild grasses. While looking down on the scene, Bashō could not help visualizing the tragic battle fought in the days gone by.

At this juncture, an impressive haiku dropped from his lips—a haiku known to every Japanese today.

natsukusa ya
tsuwamono domo ga
yume no ato

thick-grown grasses of summer
lingering dream
of warriors gone

Over the plains of summer grasses floated the unfulfilled, hallucinatory dreams of the warriors who fought for name and glory. How ephemeral and bleak their ambitions seemed now!

In this haiku many Japanese feel the unlimited pathos of the old battle field, but many of them do not know the real historical background of the poem. In composing the haiku, Bashō undoubtedly had the deepest sympathy toward the Fujiwara clan which had completely disappeared from the stage of history.

Yet it may be somewhat misleading to say that there was nothing reminiscent of the glory of the three Fujiwara lords. When he descended Takadaté Hill, Bashō visited a nearby temple under the threatening sky. Chūson-ji Temple embraced the graveyard where the three lords rested. It was an exceptional monument called Konjiki-dō, the Golden Temple, and was covered over by another building, the Saya-dō, to protect it from the decay of time. Even after the downfall of the Fujiwara, the sight of the exquisite Konjiki-dō must have compelled one to wish to preserve it.

The beauty of the Konjiki-dō will be described later on. At present the following haiku by Bashō will suffice.

samidare o
furinokoshite ya
Hikari-dō

early summer rains
hesitate to fall upon
the glittering hall

One of the many small temples to specific deities within Chūson-ji

As if dazzled by the beautiful Konjiki-dō, the gloomy rains that started at that time seemed to have left the temple untouched. The haiku is a superlative and symbolic expression of admiration of the temple.

Today, another three hundred years since Bashō's visit, we took a night train to Hiraizumi, 450 kilometers north of Tōkyō, to view the traces of the glory of the three Fujiwara lords, holding fast to the memories of Saigyō and Bashō.

Why did the amazing Fujiwara culture emerge suddenly in this northern region and perish in the short space of less than one hundred years? We anticipate our readers will enjoy an account of the outline of the distinguished, short-lived culture of Hiraizumi.

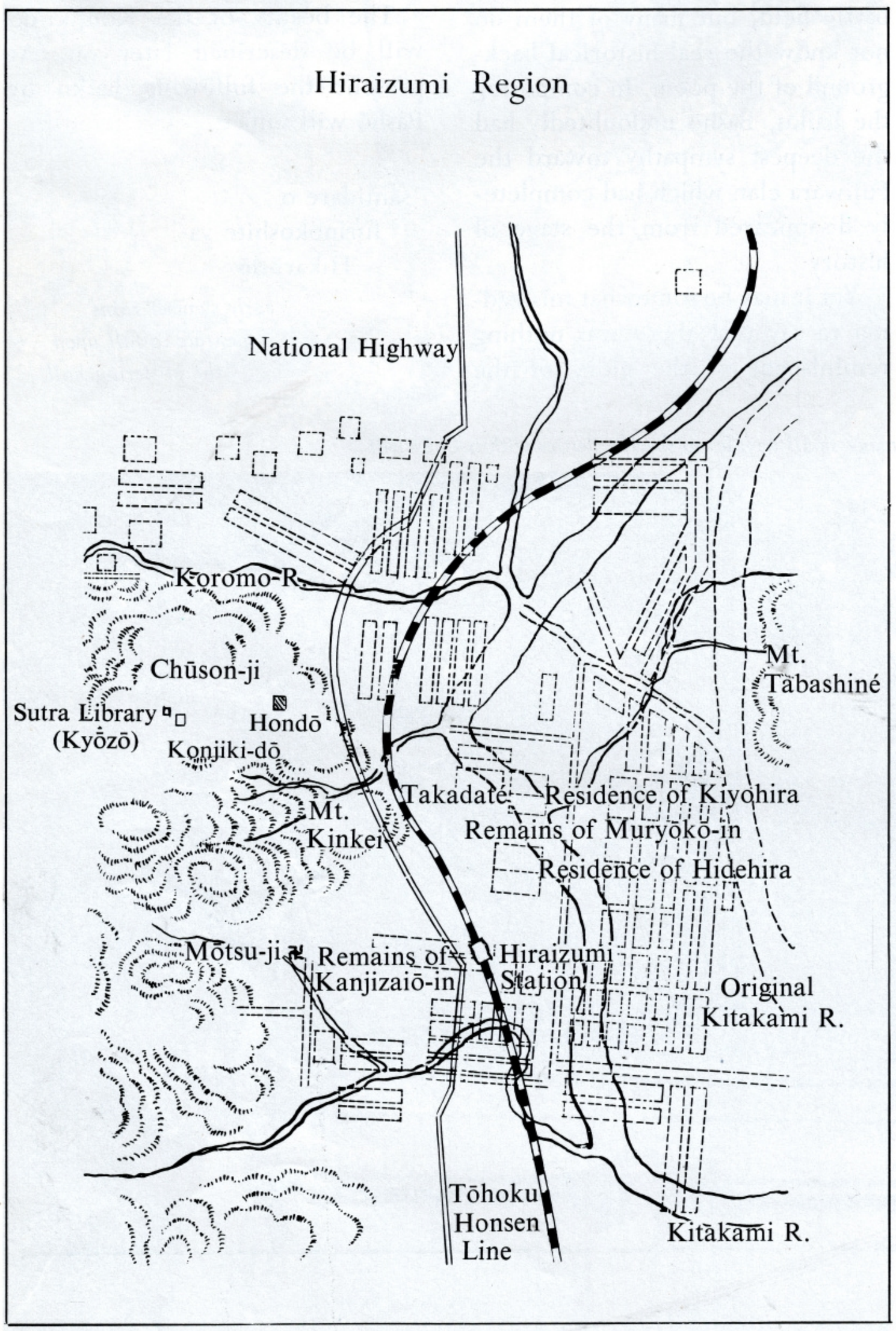
The Fujiwara on the Frontier

THE 10TH century witnessed the burgeoning of the native and aristocratic culture of the court nobles in Kyōto as exemplified in *The Tale of Genji*. But the northern region of the country (presently six prefectures) remained culturally underdeveloped. The region was inhabited by people who had their own languages and customs and manners different from the rest of Japan. They included the vagabonds moved there by force from western Japan centering on Kyōto, beggars, runway soldiers, counterfeiters and criminals as well as the Ainu who number no more than 20,000 at present in Hokkaidō and who are of a different race from other Japanese peoples. The urbanites scorned them as "*Ezo*," "barbarians." The Ezo did not obey the commands of the Imperial Court, the central administration; they did not pay any taxes, but kept to their own society.

The Imperial Court attempted to bring the whole land under a firm system of laws and ethics (its own) and dispatched its governers to the two provinces—Mutsu (present prefectures of Aomori, Iwaté, Fukushima and Miyagi) and Dewa (Akita and Yamagata). It appointed Ezo over lords who swore obedience to the Imperial Court as the local officials and thus gained control. However, the lords overpowered the governors both financially and militarily; they disregarded orders, causing incessant conflict.

Around the mid-11th century, a clan called the Abé in the province of Mutsu became so powerful that it merely disregarded the governor's commands. The Imperial Court decided to send 4,000 soldiers to the general of the Genji, who were gaining power along with the Heiké, to counter the Abé clan. However, the Genji found themselves no match for the Abé. It was up to ten years later and with the aid of 10,000 soldiers from the Kiyohara clan of Dewa province that the

Hiraizumi Region



Genji managed to defeat the Abé.

As a result, the Imperial Court appointed Kiyohara Takesada the highest administrator of the northern district—the first Ezo to assume such a position. The exceptional promotion was based on the Imperial calculation that the best way to control the Ezo district was through other Ezo. The Genji clan was convinced that it could control the Ezo district by its own efforts, but when its general was assigned to a lower position than the Ezo Kiyohira clan, it left the district most reluctantly.

In the midst of the battle, the first Fujiwara general, Kiyohira, who was to build up the foundation of the "century of Hiraizumi," was born to the Fujiwara, Abé's retainer and Abé's daughter.

When his father was killed by the Imperial Court and the Kiyohara, Kiyohira and his mother fled to a mountain. But his mother was captured by the Kiyohara and forced to marry the son of the Kiyohara, bringing along her six-year-old son.

Kiyohira grew up within the clan that had been his enemies. When he came of age, the clan split in two and fought a most bloody battle. The three-year internal conflict ended in victory for Kiyohira who defeated his half-brother with the aid of the Genji. As a consequence, Kiyohira, 32, succeeded to the clan's inheritance or rather the whole property of Ezo and became the virtual ruler of the Ou district.

Abandoning the Kiyohara, Kiyohira assumed the name of his real father, Fujiwara. At that time, another Fujiwara held the central administrative power in Kyōto as a maternal relative of the Imperial family. While the Ezo district was divided by constant strife for one hundred years, the Heian culture, one of Japan's cultural peaks, blossomed and began to fade away. This development coincided with the begining of the "century of Fujiwara culture" in Ou.

Building a New Cultural Center

FUJIWARA KIYOHIRA lost no time in leaving behind his former castle and building a fortress in Hiraizumi, which bore a geographical resemblance to Kyōto, on the center of the Kitakami Plain embracing a big river and surrounded by mountains. Unlike other fortresses, this was not designed for militaristic purposes; it was built to be a residence.

Hiraizumi in those days was known for gold and quality horses. Kiyohira made frequent presents of gold and horses to the Imperial Court to maintain his close relationship with Kyōto. Probably lured by Kiyohira's powerful political influence and rich resources of gold, more and more high officials and distinguished Buddhist priests moved from Kyōto to Hiraizumi, and the traffic between Kyōto and Hiraizumi increased.

It is not difficult to imagine Kiyohira realizing the cultural backwardness of his domain or to conceive how inexpressably humiliated he felt to be constantly scorned as the barbarian. Despite a financial power that may have surprised the court nobles in Kyōto, Hiraizumi had no significant culture. To free himself of his feelings of inferiority, Kiyohira started using his huge monetary power to make the Kyōto culture his own.

At that time, the aristocrats in Kyōto were spending uneasy days, hearing the military tramp of their former retainers who were emerging into political dominance. They turned to the faith of Buddhism. The urban culture that Kiyohira was so eager to introduce into the frontier was, in short, this Buddhist culture.

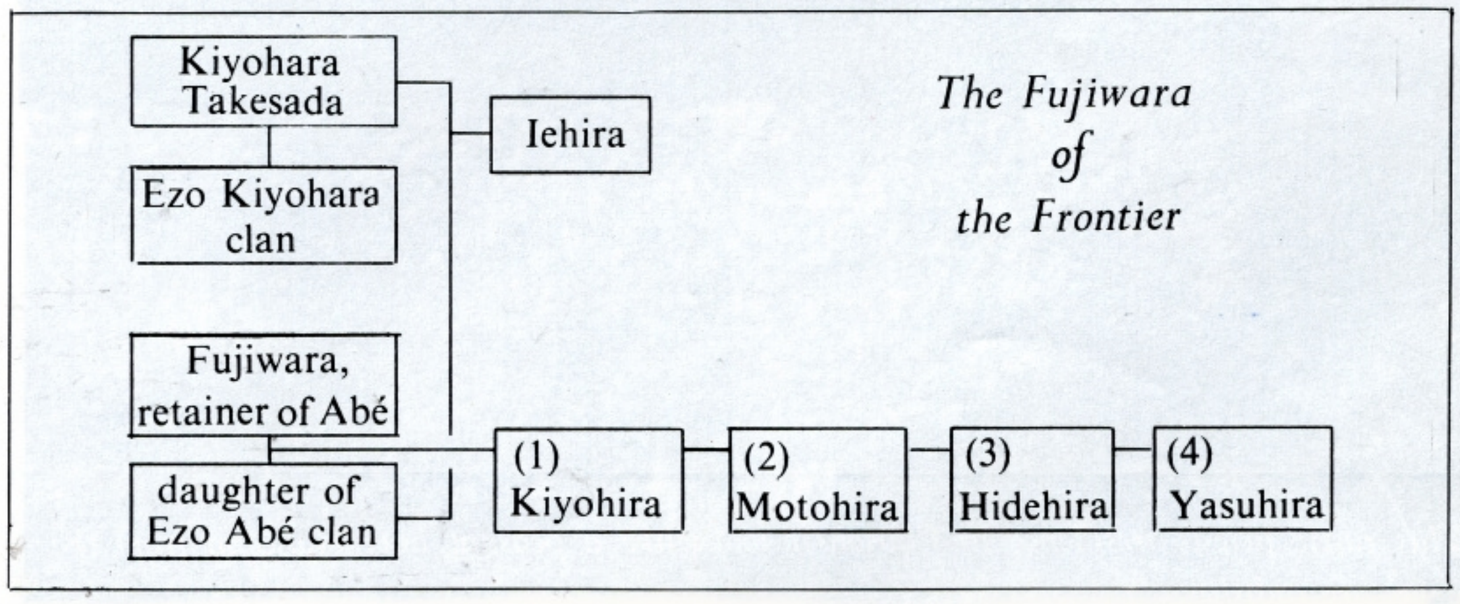
He must have wished to civilize the people of the frontier with Buddhism, and give repose to the souls of his dead Ezo tribesmen who had perished in the continued battles, to turn the district of Hiraizumi into a peaceful paradise.

In 1105, Kiyohira, 55, finished plans for Chūson-ji Temple and, with Imperial permission, he started constructing it on a small hill named Kanzan in one corner of Hiraizumi. The temple was built on the mountain top or hillside with the monks' quarters in the valley below.

Kiyohira invited high Buddhist priests and first class carpenters from Kyōto to Hiraizumi one after another. They received gold and silk as remuneration and dedicated themselves to Kiyohira's grand venture until the temple was completed.

While Chūson-ji was under construction, Kiyohira had a number of high Buddhist priests from Kyōto

The Fujiwara of the Frontier



copy a total of 5,300 texts of the *Issai-kyō*, the complete collection of Buddhist scriptures. At that time, copying Buddhist scriptures was general practice among aristocrats. Called the *Kiyohira-kyō*, this one was truly gorgeous. The paper for the scriptures was made from the bark of paper mulberry dipped in indigo; silver-ruled lines were drawn on the dark blue dyed paper

The damage wrought by wind and rain to the beautiful Konjiki-dō over 165 years impelled the Kamakura Shogunate to preserve it. This they did in 1288 by building the Saya-dō, shown here, to cover it. Today the Konjiki-dō is encased in a concrete building.

and the scriptures were written in alternated gold and silver.

These scriptures were encased in boxes each including five volumes, and the lacquered sides of the wooden boxes carried the titles in pearl inlay—a method quite unique in Japan at that time. The scriptures were completed after eight years of hard work by one thousand Buddhist priests. The Buddhist texts were housed in a special 2-story building which took thirteen years to complete.

In 1126, the Chūson-ji temple buildings and priests' quarters initiated by the ruler of Ezo were completed after twenty-one years.

This rustic priests' residence in Chūson-ji looks like a peasant hut. Hanging from the eaves are radishes.

More than forty temple buildings and more than three hundred priests' quarters stood side by side on the hilltop of Hiraizumi.

Against the fine sky of March 24 of that year reverberated the voices of flutes and drums celebrating the completion of Chūson-ji. Kiyohira, 70, in a dignified ceremonial robe, received the Imperial envoy from Emperor Toba at the special hall built near the foot of Mt. Kanzan where Chūson-ji stood. Respectfully he ushered the envoy into the special ornate bullock-drawn carriage.

The high officials and priests including the Emperor's younger brother on horses and in ox-drawn carts traveled in a long procession up to the Grand Golden Temple, the site of the celebration, on the hillside of Kanzan. The unprecedented grandeur and splendor of the temple dazzled even the eyes of the nobles of Kyōto.

A thousand priests simultaneously chanted the thousand volumes of the *Lotus Sutra* in a day. In addition, 530 priests chanted ten texts per person to finish a total of 5,300 volumes of texts. It was indeed a grand dedication ceremony. Kiyohira proceeded expansively to the center of the assembly and began chanting the memorial prayer in a ringing voice.

"In the battles of many years countless of my people have been sent to the front and killed, to no purpose. They have been called the "enemy," but originally all men are equal, and there are no enemies and no allies. It is not their fault. It is a false charge. Their dead souls are floating aimlessly in the void with no hope of repose. I wish to strike the bell and cause the earth to tremble, showing the poor souls the Way and offering them the opportunity to be reborn in the world of the Buddhist Law."

At the same time, the bells resounded against the surrounding mountains to quiet the souls of the Ezo who had been killed on the battlefield. The prayer rang with the self-confidence of the frontier people, zealous to construct their Buddhist culture.

Two years after the celebration of the completion of Chūson-ji, Kiyohira's eventful 73-year life ended. His corpse was preserved, as he had willed, in a gold-plated coffin placed under the high altar within the Golden Temple of Chūson-ji.

The Konjiki-dō is the only building that retains the grandeur of the Hiraizumi culture which it embodies and symbolizes. In outer appearance only a one-story hall six meters square, the whole construction made from Japanese cypress—roof, wooden tiles, four lacquered sides plated with gold—is really striking. The four pillars and four beams inside are decorated with pearl shell, crystal, glass and agate cut into many forms and inlaid in wood. The construction is an artistic masterwork.

As Good as Kyōto

KIYOHIRA'S SON Motohira never neglected a chance to introduce culture into Hiraizumi. He made efforts to refine it further by placing many new Buddhist images in Chūson-ji and building a temple called Mōtsu-ji near Chūson-ji. His wife built a temple as well, Kanjizaiō-in next to Mōtsu-ji. Motohira ordered a prominent Buddhist sculptor in Kyōto to carve an image of Yakushi Nyorai about five meters high to be placed in Mōtsu-ji. For remuneration, he sent one hundred *ryō* of gold, one hundred eagle feathers, more than sixty seal furs and fifty horses on land to the sculptor.

He also sent three boatloads of unglossed silk. When the sculptor received the presents, he jokingly said to the messenger, "I appreciate it very much, but glossed silk would have been better." Chagrined, Motohira sent another three shipments of glossed silk to the sculptor.

The Buddhist image made in exchange for such a huge remuneration must have been splendid indeed. The tonsured Emperor Toba, hearing of the image, visited the sculptor to have a personal look at it. Impressed, he prohibited the movement of the image out of Kyōto. Motohira asked one of the Emperor's retainers to send it to him and finally succeeded in having the image brought to Ou. Probably the monetary power of the Fujiwara moved the eminent people of Kyōto and, at the same time, they undoubtedly despised the Fujiwara as simple nouveaux riches from the northern region.

Motohira died before Mōtsu-ji was completed. His corpse was also kept under the high altar in the Konjiki-dō next to his father's. The construction work was carried on by the third generation Fujiwara, Hidehira. Mōtsu-ji comprised more than forty temples and more than five hundred priests' quarters and was grander than Chūson-ji in scale.

Kiyohira attempted to embody the Pure Land in the construction of the Konjiki-dō whereas Motohira had wanted to do the same thing in the earthly form of a big pond in the garden of Mōtsu-ji.

After Yoritomo, founder of the Kamakura Shogunate, ordered his younger brother to be hunted down, Yoshitsune fled to the Fujiwara in Hiraizumi and lived here on the hill of Takadaté.

Mōtsu-ji was built after the form of construction popular among nobility in Kyōto in the Heian Period (*shinden-zukuri*); it had pavilions on both sides and was approached through the gate, across the bridge over the pond, over the "central island" and then across another bridge. Revellers enjoyed riding boats with a dragon head on one end and the head of an imaginary bird on the other over the pond and performing court dances and music in the garden in the merry Kyōto fashion. The beautiful garden must have seemed like the Pure Land Paradise on earth.

Brother Against Brother

THE THIRD FUJIWARA, Hidehira, built a palace next door on the west of the family mansion and moved into it. Like his ancestors he had a great admiration for the Kyōto culture. He built a temple called Muryōkō-in in Hiraizumi which incorporated the beauty of garden, spacious pond and architecture in a unified whole in imitation of the Byōdō-in built in Uji more than one hundred years before. He also adopted well-known Kyōto names such as Gion and Yasaka Shrine—names that are still used in Hiraizumi.

He also built an artificial hill in the back of Chūson-ji and Mōtsu-ji on the model of Mt. Fuji and named it Mt. Kinkei. Legend has it that he buried a golden cock and hen on the mountain top as guardians of Hiraizumi.

There is a story that tells how influential the Fujiwara were. An enthusiastic Buddhist, Hidehira copied the *Issai-kyō* texts, the original of which he imported from Sung in China for the equivalent of 105,000 *ryō* in gold, doubtless the most gold to change hands

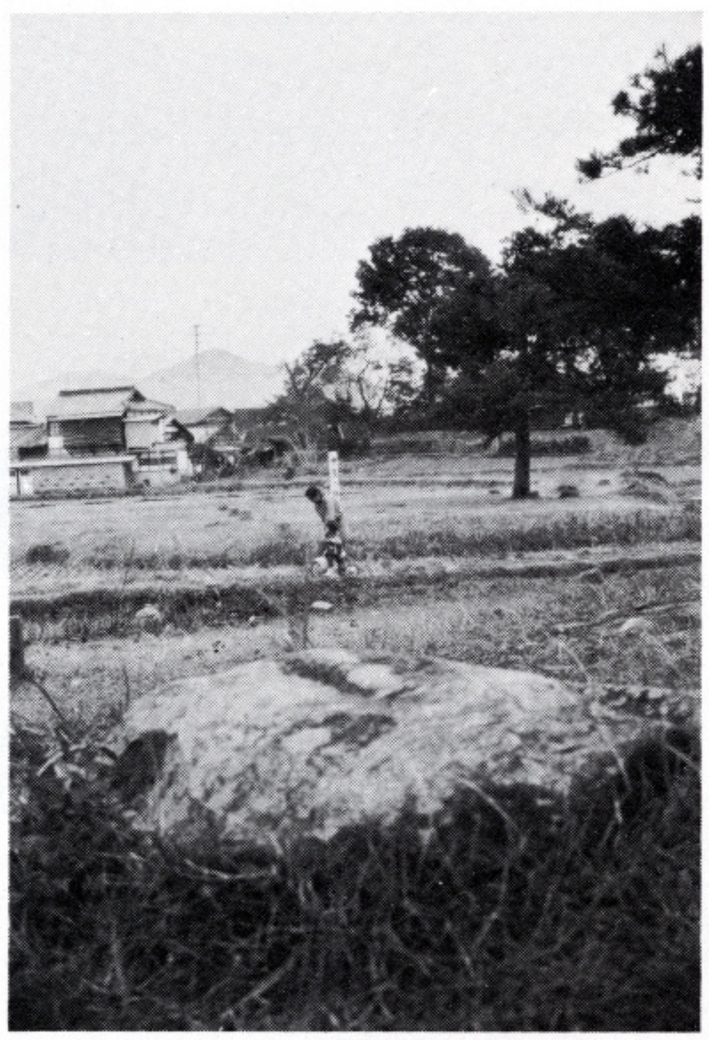
The Kitakami River—we looked for the mansion of the northern "nobility" and found that the river has swallowed it up. Mt. Tabashiné rises behind the river.

at one time in the period. This story suggests that Hiraizumi was as influential as Kyōto in making direct deals with Sung, the major power on the continent across the sea. The scriptures were rendered in gold and silver at the time of the first Fujiwara, Kiyohira, but Hidehira copied them all—ruled lines and letters—in gold dust.

Toward the end of the 12th century when Hidehira succeeded to his ancestors' legacy and reigned over the Ou district, the central administration in Kyōto had fallen from dominance and the succeeding administration by the retired Emperors lost power, putting the aristocratic rule on the verge of dissolution.

The Heiké took part in the administration for the purpose of assisting the retired Emperor by defeating the old foe. The Heiké soon overpowered the ex-Emperor and attained to virtual dictatorship.

The ex-Emperor, his subjects



The one-time site of the magnificent Muryōkō-in built by the third generation Fujiwara Hidehira has been plowed into paddy fields.

the Heiké, and the survivors of the Genji who aimed to recover the ruling power some day—these three parties all sought the assistance of Hidehira with his financial and military power. Yet, Hidehira remained uncommitted to any of them, and cautiously watched which way the wind would blow.

Around this time, Hidehira's representative, the "gold dealer Kichiji," was making one or two trips a year between Hiraizumi and Kyōto leading more than twenty horses loaded with gold and other goods. By chance, Kichiji made the acquaintance of Yoshitsuné, younger brother of the head of the Genji, who was assiduously studying and building his martial prowess in a Kyōto temple, hoping to see the revival of the Genji some day. Kichiji took Yoshitsuné, 16, to Hidehira and suggested that Hidehira look after him.

Hidehira perceived an exceptional quality in the martial accomplishments and learning of this boy, and, recalling how his grandfather Kiyohira had been indebted to the Genji at the time of internal

conflict within his clan, gladly accepted Yoshitsuné. At first, he housed Yoshitsuné in his father's old residence. Later he built him a house called Takadaté on a hill in one corner of Hiraizumi.

Six years later the time became ripe for Yoshituné. His elder brother by a different mother, Minamoto no Yoritomo in Izu, rose in revolt against the Heiké. Despite Hidehira's attempts at dissuasion, Yoshitsuné went to Kyōto.

In the Genpei War that lasted for five years (see Vol. VII No. 2) the Genji defeated the Heiké, and Yoritomo established Japan's first Shogunate in Kamakura. Yoshitsuné rendered meritorious service in many battles. But after the war had ended, Yoritomo harbored hostility against Yoshitsuné. Yoritomo was indignant when the ex-Emperor ignored him in Kamakura and promoted his younger brother to the post of *kebiishi*, police and judicial chief in Kyōto.

Reports that power was going increasingly to Yoshitsuné's head caused Yoritomo to suspect that his brother might rise in revolt against him. Yoritomo finally gave orders to have his younger brother hunted down.

Yoshitsuné had no recourse but to flee to the Fujiwara in Ou and seek refuge. Hearing of the news, Yoritomo demanded that Hidehira hand over Yoshitsuné. Hidehira turned him down flatly and squarely antagonized Yoritomo. Then Hidehira died of illness in 1187. Before he died, Hidehira summoned his sons to his bedside and told them, "From now on, you are to obey Yoshitsuné as your commander and defend Ou, no matter what!"

To the fourth Fujiwara, Yasuhira, Yoritomo reissued his order to give up Yoshitsuné, and at the same time he decided to conquer Ou. The Fujiwara split into two groups over the problem. However, Yasuhira gave way before Yoritomo's threats. He killed his own brother who supported Yoshitsuné and with a few hundred men attacked Takadaté.

The battle was fought near the Koromo River, which joined the Kitakami River near Takadaté. Against such heavy odds, Yoshitsuné could offer little defense.

Mōtsu-ji which was modelled after the Emperor's personal temple in Kyotō

The Ezo "nobility" enjoyed elegant boating parties on the Oizumi Pond after the manner of the nobles in Kyōto.

Stone Buddhas at Mōtsu-ji

There was no other place to run away to. Returning to his residence, Yoshitsuné stabbed his 22-year-old wife and 4-year-old daughter with his sword and then killed himself. His faithful followers also fought to the last and were killed.

Yasuhira had done as Yoritomo commanded. But as Yoritomo considered the consolidation of his national reign, the "Hiraizumi administration" looked ominously powerful. He asked the ex-Emperor for permission to chastise Yasuhira. The ex-Emperor did not move. "Yoshitsuné is dead. There is no need for it." But Yoritomo did not give up his ambition to gain complete control of Ou. He disregarded the ex-Emperor and in 1189 started for Ou with a total of 284,000 cavalry.

Yasuhira's 170,000 mounted soldiers first encountered the rapidly advancing enemy force around Sendai and fell back. Passing the fortress in Hiraizumi, Yasuhira had no time to stop. He set fire to the fortress, and fled in a northern direction.

The following day, Yoritomo entered the enemy capital, Hiraizumi. The city had lost its master. According to a historical document, the fortress had been levelled, and autumn rain was pelting the streets of the deserted town. This was the end of the glory and prosperity of the three generations of the Fujiwara. All the legacy was reduced to ashes in one hundred years. All that was left behind was Chūson-ji, the Konjiki-dō shining as though with the passing Hiraizumi culture, no match for Kyōto after all, and Mōtsu-ji embracing the brimming pond.

Yasuhira does not seem to have been as talented as his three predecessors. In the midst of his flight, he was killed by his own retainers. Such was the unbecoming end of the Fujiwara clan.

The question why the Hiraizumi culture perished in only one hundred years may be rephrased as why did Yoritomo so relentlessly attack the Fujiwara in Ou? The Kamakura Shogunate's official record, *the Azuma Kagami*, has this to say:

"Eifuku-ji Temple in Kamakura is built after the temple in Hiraizumi. Yoritomo subjugated Yoshitsuné and Yasuhira out of personal

enmity, although they were not Imperial enemies. To appease their souls, Yoritomo built this temple."

Yoritomo's "personal enmity" may have been a grudge against the Fujiwara for tying up with the Heiké and assisting Yoshitsuné in dark dealings with Kyōto. Yoritomo may also have remembered when generations back the Genji had been offered lesser positions than the Ezo lords despite their meritorious services in conquering the Ezo district.

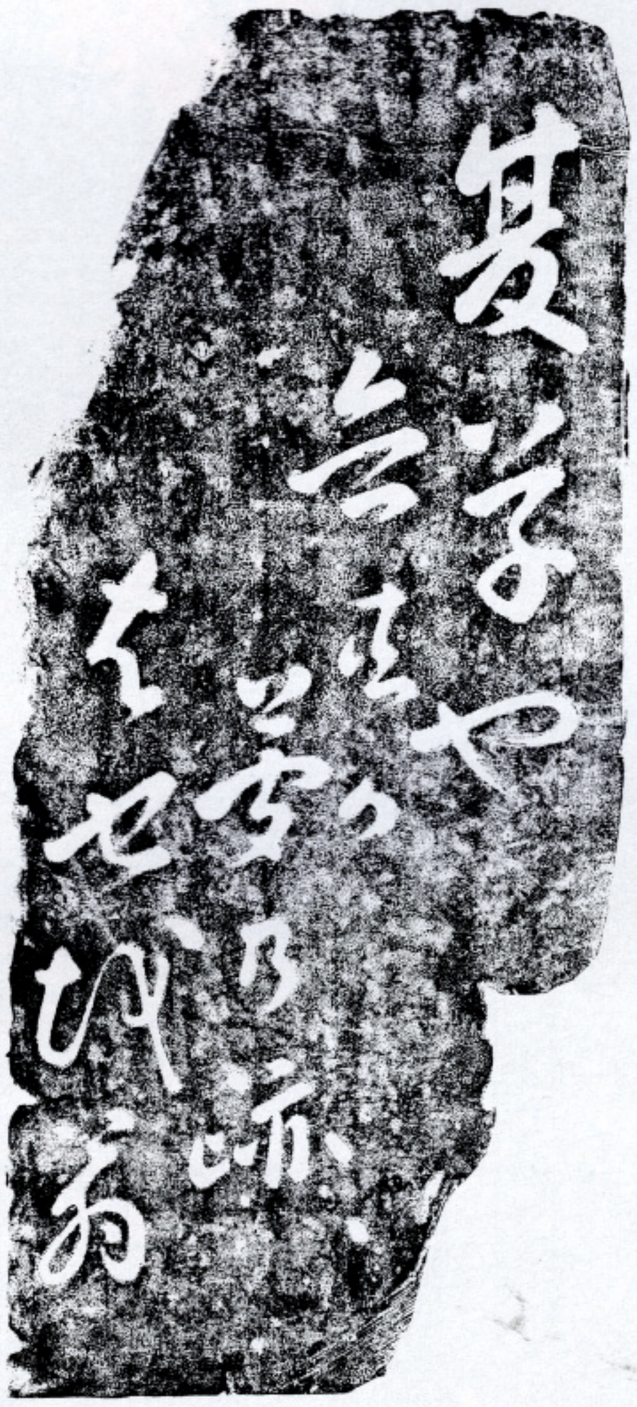
The downfall of the Fujiwara may have been the outcome of Yoritomo's resolute determination to preserve the face of the honorable samurai family of which he was the head, to destroy the Ou domain and silence any critics who said that he controlled only the Tōhoku district.

* * * * * * *

OUR EXPRESS TRAIN on the Tōhoku Honsen Line left Ueno Station at midnight and in six hours it arrived at Ichinoseki, a small town on this side of Hiraizumi. The express train ignored Hiraizumi, the one-time "little Kyōto." From Ichinoseki we took a taxi and headed via the national highway for Chūson-ji. What met our eyes through the windows on the way was only a bleak expanse of fields and a scattering of houses. Today Hiraizumi has a population of only nine thousand, or less than one-tenth of the 100,000 who lived here during its glory under the third Fujiwara, Hidehira.

We reached the mountain gate of Chūson-ji in fifteen minutes. During the sightseeing months of April, May and October, Hiraizumi attracts many visitors, but now in the beginning of November we saw only a few people.

Ascent on foot of the slope flanked on both sides by huge cedar trees took us to the main quarters of the temple. After the downfall of the Fujiwara, many temple buildings and the priests' quarters gradually broke down, and in the 14th century the major part of them were destroyed by a grass fire. Today only the Konjiki-dō and the Kyō-zō survive. The main quarters and more than ten



Bashō's famous haiku, natsukusa ya tsuwamonodomo ga yume no ato, was engraved on a rock here. This is a rubbing.

buildings were all built in later years.

For about one hundred years after the downfall of the Fujiwara, the Konjiki-dō was left exposed to wind and rain. Then in 1288, the Kamakura Shogunate built the wooden Saya-dō to cover it, probably because it could not stand seeing the exquisite Konjiki-dō go to ruin. Bashō saw this Saya-dō. Since then protective measures have been taken by the succeeding rulers. After World War II, in 1960, the Saya-dō was dismantled and repaired over a period of five years. It was moved to another nearby location and a new ferro-concrete Saya-dō was built. On this occasion, six years were devoted to rebuilding and remodeling the Konjiki-dō using eleven kilograms of pure gold.

The Konjiki-dō stands on a corner of a leisurely slope of the mountain where the main quarters were located. We visited there at the peak of the season of autumn leaves, which made an exquisite contrast, of indescribable beauty, with the buildings.

Inside the concrete Saya-dō was the Konjiki-dō sealed with thick glass panes on three sides, excepting the back. Its newly rebuilt roof, floor and doors were shining brilliantly. Yet the altar engraved in jewels with peacocks and peonies and the four pillars in lacquer and gold retain the beauty of old, recreating the culture that was.

On the three altar levels under which lay the coffins of the three Fujiwara lords a total of thirty-three jostling Buddhist images are enshrined, eleven for each of the three lords—all masterworks of the later Heian Period. They gave an impression of northern gloom but surely when they were new embodied the beauty of the Pure Land for worshippers who stood before them.

Under the altar the four gold-plated coffins encased the mummies of the four Fujiwara lords (the fourth master, Yasuhira's was only the head). In 1950, a comprehensive investigation of the mummies revealed that they contained certain features exceptional in the world: the ages of the dead persons, the dates and causes of deaths have been clarified and so have the historical facts concerning the four generations.

Remains of the Kanjizaiō-in built by the wife of the second Fujiwara

Anthropological research has refuted the prevailing theory advocated by historians that the Fujiwara were Ainu. It has revealed on the basis of bone structure, blood type, fingerprints and jaw structure that they were pure Japanese.

Generally the practice of placing a corpse in a special burial chamber was not known to ancient Japan. The Fujiwaras' burial is still an enigma. It may have been a practice limited to ancient Tōhoku.

Whether mummification occurred naturally or was induced artificially for the purpose of preservation also remains undetermined. The Fujiwara lords may well have wished to be reborn in the Pure Land symbolized by the Konjiki-dō just as they looked before death. Besides the Konjiki-dō, Chūson-ji includes the Kyō-zō (which used to have two-stories until the upper floor was burnt down in a 14th century grass fire) and a museum housing relics and cultural assets of the three generations of the Fujiwara—the latter houses many Buddhist images, documents and artifacts designated as national treasures and important cultural assets.

We visited Mōtsu-ji as well, about 1.5 kilometers south of Chūson-ji. It was also burned in a fire in the 13th century, and what survive today are only the main building, other buildings rebuilt in later years, the large pond where the second Fujiwara Motohira enjoyed boating, traces of the garden stones and the remaining foundation stones. The Muryōkō-in built by the third Fujiwara Hidehira retains only the foundation stones and traces of the central island; the pond was turned into paddy fields and preserves nothing reminiscent of the former temple.

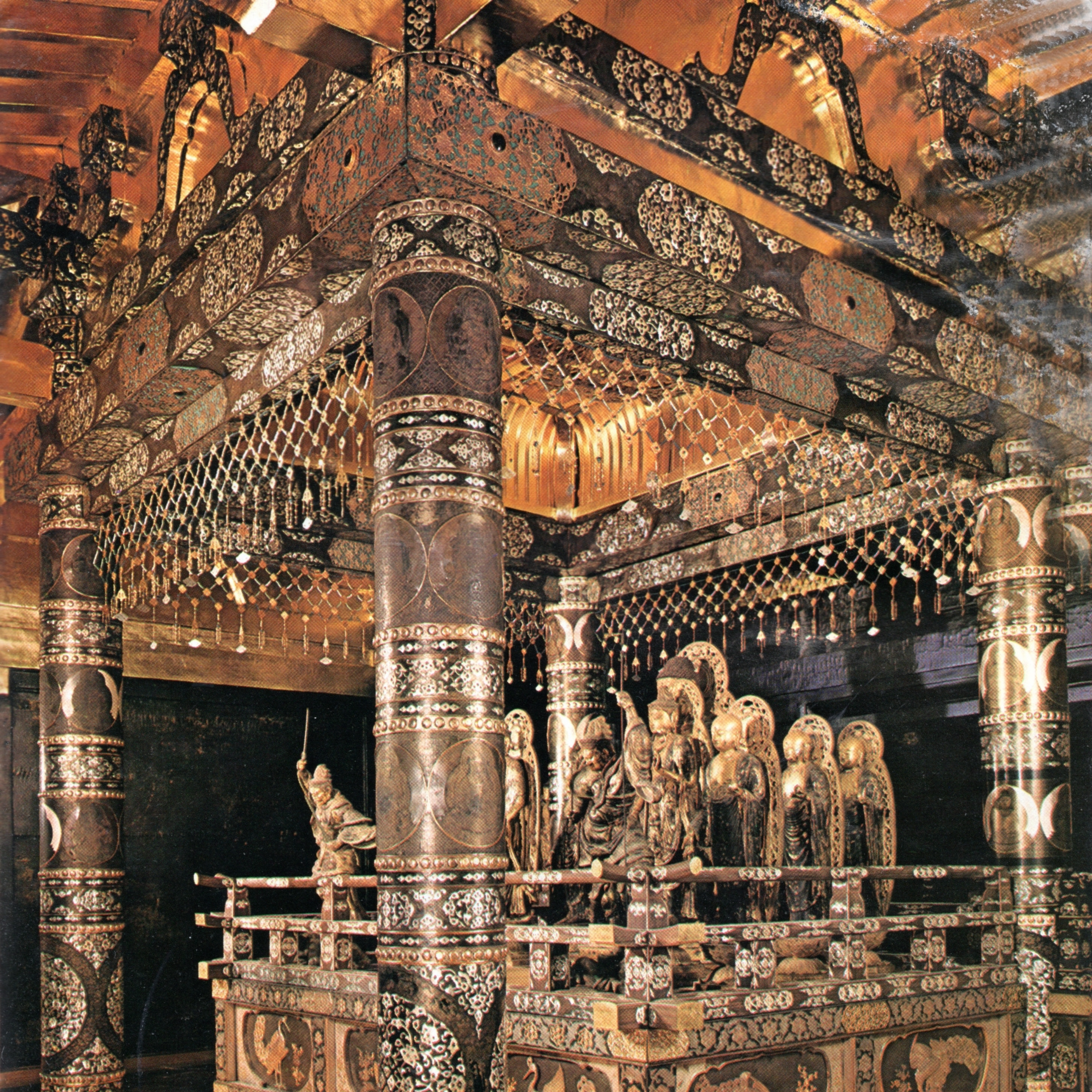
Then we visited Hidehira's mansion. There were only one or two farm houses around. In the vicinity was an expanse of fields and rice paddies that extended to the bank

of the Kitakami River. Barring the notice board, few people would imagine that on this site stood the grand mansion of the former ruler of the northern territory.

On our way we met two farm women pushing a small cart loaded with radishes. We asked the younger of the two (who seemed to be

Interior of the Konjiki-dō, the symbol and embodiment of Hiraizumi culture →

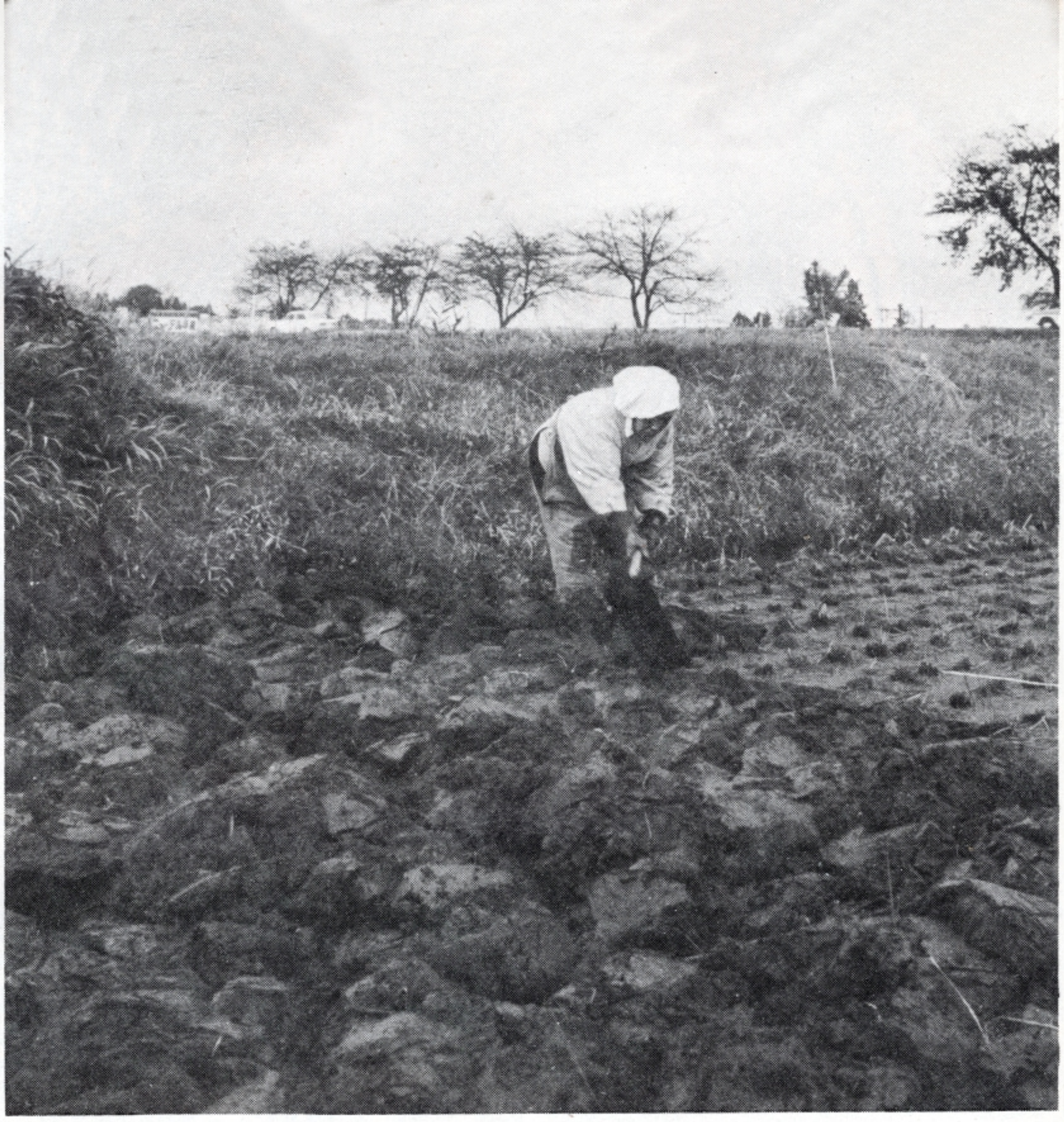
Now totally covered by a concrete building, the Konjiki-dō refuses to be outdone by the gorgeous autumn leaves.



the elderly woman's daughter-in-law), "Where are the remains of Kiyohira's mansion, called the Yanagi Gosho?"

The woman tilted her head slightly and replied, "The name of my place is called Yanagi Gosho, but I don't know where your remains are."

We put the same question to the elderly woman, who offered politely in the Tōhoku dialect, "Kiyohira's mansion is in that direction." She pointed into the distance. Following her finger we saw the large Kitakami River rushing on in torrents. The mansion built by the first Fujiwara Kiyohira changed the flow of the river over the years and ultimately sank under the water. 園



Once the brilliant capital of northern Fujiwara culture, Hiraizumi today is no more than a farming hamlet.

Handscroll: Eshi no Sōshi, "The Story of a Poor Painter"

Handscroll, early 14th century
(Kamakura Period)
30.2 cm high
Imperial Household Collection

THIS SCROLL DEPICTS with comic realism the string of disasters that overtake a poor painter. It seems that there once was a destitute painter who had difficulty living from day to day. One day, however, a messenger from the Imperial Court brought word that he had been appointed lord of Iyo (in Ehimé Prefecture). The painter's delight knew no bounds and he gathered all his relatives together for a big celebration party. His joy was short-lived. As quickly as it came, his domain was taken from him, and he had no money to pay taxes to the new lord. He tried everything, even going to

the Painters' Magistrate and begging for work, but all in vain. He merely got poorer and poorer. He sent his son to live in a temple. Then finally he entered the Path of the Buddha where he forgot all his frustrations and resentment and found peace. He decided to paint the story of his life in a handscroll, which he did and here we have it.

The painter of this scroll is said to be the famous early Kamakura artist Fujiwara Nobuzané (painter of the Thirty-six Celebrated Poets among other works) but this has not been proved yet. It is possible to say on the basis of the handling of figures and especially faces that this is a work of the latter Kamakura, and thus Nobuzané's, Period.

A certain amount of exaggeration produced by light, vivacious line gives this scroll its humorous yet pathetic character in accord with the humorous yet sad tale. The section which you see here portrays the painter's great exhilaration at receiving the news of his new appointment, an exhilaration we know will be brought to an abrupt end. The gaiety of the party spills out over the bounds of the paper. 東

My Lord on Earth or My Lord in Heaven

The Christian Daimyo, Takayama Ukon

by Yonekura Isamu

This moving image of Takayama Ukon in bronze holding both Bible and sword was sculpted in 1968 by an Italian priest residing in Japan and is based on a tributary painting on the walls of a grotto in Manresa, Spain.

When the Westerners first began visiting Japan's shores in the mid-16th century, their faces and dress, so very different from Asians, made them appear singularly strange to Japanese eyes, almost like beings from another planet. But they brought with them two things that surprised the Japanese far more than their bizarre appearances. The Japanese had seen neither before. One was the gun and the other was Christianity.

The local warlords throughout the land, all struggling for dominant power in those chaotic times, contested to import the new weapons from abroad. The general among them who had the most intense interest in the new technological knowledge that is, the guns, of Europe was the same general who finally succeeded in bringing the entire country under his rule—Oda Nobunaga. Only 16 years after the first gun was glimpsed by Japanese eyes, Nobunaga was making great advances with a trained rifle squad, gaining the significant victory at Nagashino (1575) and making deep inroads into the domains of important lords. Famous for his disaffection with the old customs and old religions of Japan and his avid desire to obtain new knowledge from outside, Nobunaga nonetheless showed no inclination whatever toward the new religion or its God.

But many common people and a number of daimyō (lords) who abhorred the dog-eat-dog struggle for power in those bloody days turned eagerly toward the West, not for its guns but for its religion. One of the most exemplary of these samurai is Takayama Ukon, lord of a small castle in a small province whose fervent belief and outstanding character captured the hearts of not only the people in his domain but many lords as well and guided them into the path of Christianity. Takayama Ukon was, however, a samurai as well as a Christian. Caught in the horns of the terrible dilemma between loyalty to his temporal lord and to his Lord in heaven, Ukon was a man who suffered—and followed his conscience.

THE EAST, Vol. IX No. 2, February, 1973

Religious Controversy

ELEVEN YEARS after the zealous Francisco Xavier landed in Japan and began preaching Catholicism, the Ashikaga Shogunate (on the eve of its disintegration) at last granted the Jesuits permission to propagate their faith freely. The Jesuits set energetically about spreading their teachings not only among a select number of the ruling class of samurai and Buddhist priests but among the common people who bore the brunt of the oppression in an age of incessant strife. Their activities were not confined to preaching but included medical assistance as well and converts grew rapidly especially in the centers of Nara, Kyōto and Yamaguchi.

Their success predictably incurred the wrath of the Buddhist priests, who retaliated furiously. By the machinations of the priests the Jesuit fathers were turned out of their lodgings time and again. Incited to the fiercest rage by the new religion were the high priests of the Buddhist center which had maintained paramount religious authority since the Heian Period and still professed to call the world its own: the Tendai temple of Enryaku-ji on Mt. Hiei. Reinforced by a huge army of monks, Enryaku-ji wielded enormous political power, but as its political force swelled, its spiritual resources declined proportionately.

Fearful of what they saw as a threat to their authority, the priests of Enryaku-ji approached the powerful lord of the province of Yamato (Nara Prefecture) Matsunaga Hisahidé, a devout Buddhist, with the earnest appeal that he urge the Ashikaga Shogunate to expel the foreign priests. Hisahidé agreed to try. After considering the situation, however—the real power of

Ukon was born here in Takayama some 15 kilometers north of Osaka.

the Shogunate had declined so far that it was almost nonexistent; matter of form alone though it may have been, the Shogunate had given its sanction to the spread of Christianity and it would be impossible to drive the fathers out without some good reason—he hit upon a more feasible plan.

Hisahidé gave orders to one of his close retainers who was a brilliant Buddhist scholar and to a Kyōto noble to call for an open debate with the Christians on the relative merits of their respective religions. When the fathers and their faith had been made to look entirely foolish he would have his excuse for having them thrown out of the country. The duty of arranging for the debate fell upon one Takayama Hidanokami who reigned over a small castle, Sawa-jō, in a small part of the Yamato domain. Though a layman Hidanokami was excellently schooled in the texts and philosophy of Buddhism. He also had heard of the vigorous proselytizing the Christians were carrying on here and there in Kyōto and his ire was up. So much so that when Hisahidé told him of the debate plan he snapped, "Instead of going to all the trouble of holding a debate what we should do is invite the fathers to Nara and cut them all down!"

One day while preparations were under way for the debate, a certain Nara townsman, a Christian, came before Matsunaga's court in connection with a law suit. The important vassal who saw him knew that he was a Christian believer and taunted him, "Your foreign priests are all going to be ridden out of the country pretty soon. What do you think of that?"

Unperturbed, the townsman answered, "Nothing happens without the consent of God." His voice was sure with conviction.

The retainer had never seen a commoner who did not tremble and falter before a samurai, and this townsman's self-possession took him aback. "What's this God of yours?" he asked.

Portrait of the most devout of Christian daimyo Takayama Ukon, by Dōmoto Inshō.

"The creator of heaven and earth and man's sustenance in this life and after death. Though it is not visible to the eyes of men, everything that occurs in this world occurs through his divine plan. . ." The debate went on and on. The samurai could not suppress a wavering in his heart. He began to think that if a simple ordinary layman could defend his faith so forcefully only a short time after conversion, it would be worth-while going to the foreign missionaries to hear about the amazing faith firsthand.

Several days after that exchange, Takayama and the two men chosen to argue for Buddhism went to Nara to commence the debate with the Christians. One man alone came to represent Christianity in the confrontation—the limping one-eyed and very first Christian monk in Japan, Lorenzo. Young Lorenzo had formerly been an itinerant lute-playing Buddhist priest. He came to the meeting in full knowledge that he would probably forfeit his life.

The debate began.

The three Buddhists who came fully prepared for an easy victory felt as though great waves of argument were washing over them like the sea gushing through a broken dike. The records say that of the three by far the most stubborn was Takayama Hidanokami as he threw the questions at Lorenzo and drove home his points in a derisive voice heavy with loathing. The battle went on like this for four, five days. Disappointingly, the actual content of that debate has not come down to us so we can only guess at it. Whatever may have been said, sometime in the process of the argument the whole tenor reversed completely and to the astonishment of all, by the time they were through all three found themselves favorably disposed toward Christianity.

Two months later the two samurai who had accompanied Takayama were baptized by Jesuit Father Gaspar Vilela. As if trailing after them, Takayama Hidanokami himself underwent the rite of baptism some days later after spending two days and two nights receiving instruction in the tenets of the creed from Father Vilela. His name in the faith was Dario.

The most ardent believer of the three, Hidanokami, invited the one-eyed Lorenzo to his castle to instruct his family and retainers in the faith. After several days of catechism his wife, his children, and his 150 retainers became baptized in one group. The hero of our story, Takayama Ukon, was among them. At 12 years of age, he was the eldest son and heir of Hidanokami. The name Justo was conferred upon him at the baptism. We have no way of ascertaining what prompted him to join the believers but it was probably the urging of his father more than any deep conviction.

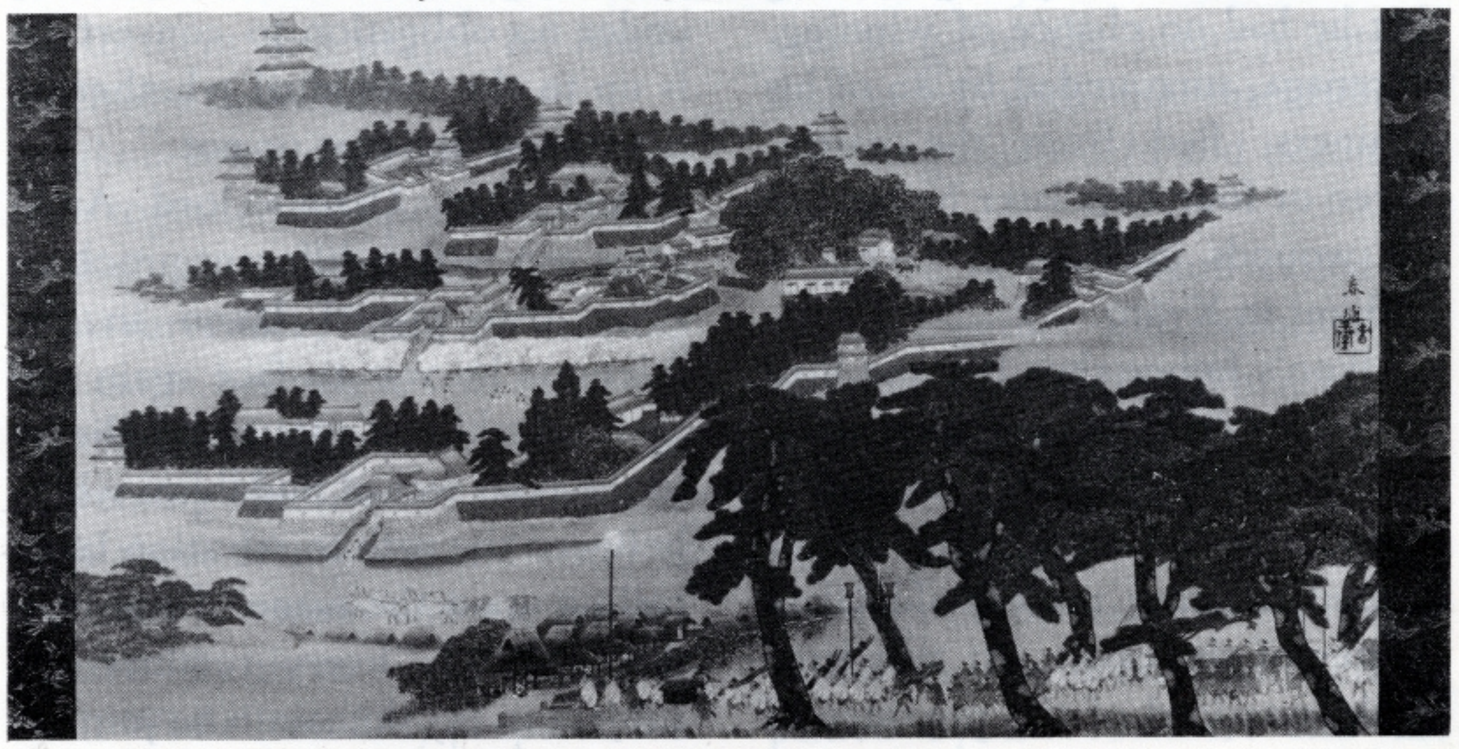
A Rough-and-Ready Young Bushi

HAVING TURNED Christian, neither father nor son were to be permitted to pass their days in quiet prayer. They lived in a time of violent change. Around 1570 when Ukon was 18, for some reason which remains unknown his father left his lord Matsunaga Hisahidé and father and son went to Takatsuki Castle in Settsu (north of Osaka) to enter the service of the castle lord Wada Koremasa. Twenty kilometers southwest of Kyōto and 30 kilometers northwest of Nara, Takatsuki is surrounded by mountains. And at a time when the Ashikaga Shogunate was on its last legs and the powerful daimyō of Owari Oda Nobunaga was striding on his way toward national domination, Takatsuki stood right between the opposing forces. War and invasion were ever-present threats.

Father and son followed their new lord into battle and acquitted themselves well. Too well in fact. Their valor and commanding stature were to have startling results.

In a battle with the lord of a neighboring province Araki Murashige in 1571 Wada Koremasa suffered a fatal wound. His successor and eldest son Korenaga was a very different man from his father. Korenaga was convinced that his own vassals held him in contempt and he saw the rivals for their loyalty in Ukon and his father. If his

After Ukon became the lord of Takatsuki-jō he and his father worked to build a Christian realm. The castle may not have looked exactly like this painting, done some time after Ukon's death, but it surely did not change greatly.



anger was misplaced, it may not have been entirely unfounded, for though Ukon and Korenaga were almost the same age, the men in the castle and the people in the domain looked up to Ukon for his proven capability.

Two years after his father's death Korenaga began laying plans to murder Hidanokami and Ukon. He reckoned without the power of their popularity. Someone informed them of the plot.

Brought to a crisis as he faced possible assassination by his lord, Ukon reluctantly turned to Korenaga's enemy and neighbor Araki Murashige and asked him what to do. Roused to fury by Korenaga's treachery, Araki promised his assistance. "Korenaga should be shot. I'll bring an army to your aid."

It was only a few days later that Korenaga decided to put his plan into action. He called all his vassals together, including Ukon and his father, and opened a discussion. Seizing an opportunity, Korenaga screamed out accusations and fell on them with sword drawn. All was chaos. Ukon and his father quickly drew their swords in turn and set to defending themselves. The other vassals ran in to join the fight, some on one side and some on the other. Ukon struck Korenaga a serious blow. Ukon was also badly hit. The furious counter-attack of Ukon's supporters began to dominate the fighting. Seeing that he had no chance of winning, Korenaga, surrounded by 80 of his retainers, fled from the castle. Three or four days later he died of the wounds inflicted by Ukon, at Fushimi in Kyōto.

Ukon's father thus became lord of Takatsuki Castle. Ukon soon recovered from his injuries and as soon as he had done so his father retired, making 21-year-old Ukon master of the castle. At that time Araki was lord of the province of Settsu which included Takatsuki, and Ukon found himself under a new master.

All this while Ukon had evidenced nothing that recalled the spirit of the devout Christian. Rather, he seemed a typical though outstanding man of his time, a time when the powerful prevailed, and he hurtled forward on his path roughly and decisively like a wild beast.

This incident, however, seems to have stimulated Ukon to do some deep reflection. Having in effect driven his lord out of his castle and taken over did not leave a very good taste in his mouth. As soon as he became lord of Takatsuki Castle Ukon began actively helping his father to encourage the spread of Christianity in the domain.

Christian Castle Lord

Where a shrine had stood on the castle grounds Ukon and his father built a wooden church. They provided lodging for the missionaries beside the church. When these were finished Ukon issued a proclamation. "All wives and children of bushi converted to the faith who have not become Christians, all craftsmen, all farmers, come to the chuch to hear the preaching of the Word. You are under no obligation to convert; it is up to the individual whether he becomes a believer or not."

And then Ukon's lord Araki came out with a different proclamation that placed Ukon in the dilemma he was to face again and again. Araki was a staunch believer in the Ikkō sect of Buddhism which believed the path to salvation lay in calling upon the name of the Buddha Amida. "Every retainer and subject in my domain is to join the Ikkō sect. Any who refuse will be punished."

Ukon and his father tried to protest in every way open to them and ultimately Araki settled for a tacit acceptance of their religious efforts which were neither excessive nor critical of the Ikkō sect.

Early every morning the church bell echoed across Takatsuki Castle and the castle town, reverberating against the surrounding mountains. The believers of the domain—samurai and commoners alike—filed into the church. Kneeling, they loudly chanted the pater noster five times. They raised their voices in prayer and sang the ave maria. From time to time Ukon had to lead his troops into battle while his father led the congregation in petitions to God to protect his followers and assure them victory.

Disregarding his high position as lord of the castle, Ukon personally saw tht widows of men who had fallen a in battle were assisted in finding new husbands and he provided orphans with an allotment. His was an age when the body of a dead man too poor to afford his own funeral was merely turned over to the untouchable class to be cremated and forgotten. But everyone who lived under the rule of Takatsuki Castle no matter how destitute was given a Christian burial. The coffin draped with rich damask was carried through the streets, a cross at the head of the procession holding aloft lanterns and white silk banners decorated with religious paintings. The people lining the streets as the procession passed could hardly believe that their eyes were really seeing Ukon and his father themselves serving as pallbearers. It was unthinkable that any commoner should ever even exchange two words with their ruler during an entire lifetime. By the time Ukon

had been lord of the castle for two years 500 people counted among the fold. Even those who did not join the congregation could not help but maintain the highest respect for their Christian ruler.

The First Trial

UKON WAS 26 when his lord and the man who had helped him obtain Takatsuki Castle, Araki Murashige, adopted a belligerent stance in opposition to Oda Nobunaga, who now controlled a great deal of the country. Araki was nominally a vassal of the Shogun and in so much as Nobunaga had replaced the Shogun should have submitted his loyalty to Nobunaga. Araki's hostility amounted to insurrection. His motivation? Apparently the ambition to unseat Nobunaga and take his place.

Although Nobunaga did not have the least interest in the teachings of Christianity, he treated the Jesuits well and by permitting them to build their churches in the capital became known as a kind of protector of the Christians. When Araki called his generals together to plan the uprising against Nobunaga he omitted Ukon from the list, sure from his Christian activities that if allowed to air an opinion Ukon would do everything he could to put a wet blanket on Araki's ambition.

The news that his lord Araki was planning to revolt against the protector of Christians startled Ukon. He wasted no time in calling upon Araki and offering the most forceful arguments he could think of.

"Turning against Nobunaga is not only wrong, it is the action of an ingrate. And even if you do fight him, Nobunaga's force is far greater than your own so you have no chance of winning. You will only destroy yourself. Pledge your loyalty to him now while you still can."

But Araki had gone too far to turn back. Ukon's words fell on deaf ears. Ukon was a samurai and he had no choice. Against his will and better judgement he sent his younger sister and three-year-old son to Murashigé as hostages to show his good faith and his intention to follow his lord as the Way of the Samurai demanded even against the protector of the men of his religion.

Ukon's decision reached Nobunaga but Nobunaga, of a cleverness not easily dismayed, hit on the way to get to Ukon. He sent a messenger to Ukon to tell him: "If you do not immediately open your castle to me I will crucify every father in the capital right before the walls of Takatsuki Castle, I will slay every Christian in the castle domain and I will burn the church. Furthermore, I will prohibit any and all proselytizing for Christianity in Japan henceforth."

Araki had made it clear that if Ukon wavered in his support he would kill both hostages. Ukon was faced with a heartrending decision: how could he stand by and watch the missionaries and believers in his cherished faith be murdered? And yet how could he break the samurai code and defy his lord, sending his sister and son to certain death? After much mental torment and prayer he finally reached a decision.

Ukon summoned all the Christians together and opened the castle to Nobunaga, notifying Nobunaga of his surrender. "I am not vacating this castle because it will be of any benefit to myself. The reason I am redeeming the lives of the fathers with those of my son and sister is that they are many and we are dedicated like them to the service of God. While I am fully prepared for

When Ukon followed Hideyoshi to Yamazaki to avenge the assassination of their lord Nobunaga, Ukon insisted on taking the front rank with his small force. From Shinsho Taikōki

(Courtesy of Mr. Okuda Yasuo)

the love of the priests and my fellow Christians to sacrifice everything, I cannot permit any of you to throw away your lives."

In the midst of this impossible situation Ukon had managed to find the one hopeful solution. He had turned the castle over to Nobunaga and assured the lives of the priests. Now he reverted the position of lord of the castle back to his father. With this action he assumed all of the onus of having acted counter to the will of his master and to the samurai code. The surrender to Nobunaga became a personal surrender that did not reflect on his fief or family. Ukon's next action was to go to the Jesuit priests he had saved with the intention of rejecting this world and becoming a monk.

Before he left Ukon called his vassals together and explained his intentions carefully. When he had finished, he divested himself deliberately of his armor and then outer garments. He pulled the bindings on his hair and let it flow across his shoulders. Then, accompanied by his retainers and the

priests, he headed out of the castle toward the distant circle of Nobunaga's troops.

Ukon's father, however, chose a different path. Unable to violate the code of the samurai no matter what the circumstances, he could not bring himself to betray Araki and he led a number of the family retainers with him as he fled Takatsuki-jō for Araki's Arioka Castle. Ukon became the betrayer not only of his master and the trust of his sister and son but of his father as well.

Unarmed, Ukon rode into Nobunaga's camp and announced, "My actions have nothing to do with those of my father. I entreat you to spare the lives of the priests and permit the propagation of Christianity."

Atheist though he may have been, the most powerful lord in the land was moved by the quality of this man who had sacrificed those of own blood to an unswerving sense of justice based upon his beliefs.

The ending to this tragic situation came out surprisingly happily for Ukon. The loyalty shown by his father mitigated Araki's indignation at Ukon's infidelity and Araki refrained from taking retribution with the lives of Ukon's sister and son. Nobunaga on his part showed great leniency toward Ukon's father when Arioka Castle fell, merely placing him in custody of a lord in Echizen (Fukui Prefecture) instead of putting him to the sword, though the grim conqueror dispatched the merciless justice of the age with regard to all other defenders of the castle.

Takatsuki Castle was restored to Ukon along with twice the land area he had held before and Ukon was numbered among Nobunaga's vassals. Many many people were greatly impressed by the way Ukon had carried himself through this time of trial and within two years the number of believers assembled in Takatsuki Castle had climbed to 14,000.

Valor Many Times Over

It was just about the time Ukon became one of Nobunaga's generals that Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle, begun in 1576 on the eastern shore of Lake Biwa, reached completion. Though he had betrayed one lord after another, Ukon had never played false the all-embracing commitment he had made —to a faith beside which he desired nothing other. Ukon requested permission from Nobunaga to build a church near the new center at Azuchi. Nobunaga granted him an appropriate site of land.

Ukon enlisted the aid of his retainers and built a seminary on the land. Visitors to the church could be awed by the chords of the pipe organ, could join in the singing of Latin hymns, could receive instruction in astronomy and Western painting from the priests. The alert Nobunaga valued the services and the outstanding character of his Christian general, and he was not slow by any means to avail himself of the cultural and technological knowledge to which Ukon had access, not to mention the weapons. Ukon was his pipeline to the West.

But all of Nobunaga's benign protection for Ukon came to an abrupt end in 1582 when his own general Akechi Mitsuhidé fell on him at an unsuspecting moment in the temple of Honnō-ji in Kyōto. Soon Nobunaga's second in command and a man not without his own ambitions set out with 26,000 troops to revenge the murder of his lord. This was Hashiba Hideyoshi (later Toyotomi Hideyoshi). Ukon was among them when Hideyoshi's army went to meet Akechi and his 15,000 at Yamazaki in the province of Settsu (halfway between Kyōto and Takatsuki). As they approached the battle ground two of Hideyoshi's bravest generals, Ikeda and Nakagawa, each insisted that he be the one to lead the advance force. The position of greatest danger was also the one of greatest fighting glory.

Then Ukon stepped forward. "It is military practice for the general whose domain is closest to the enemy to lead the advance force. My castle at Takatsuki is closest of all of us to Shōryūji Castle where Akechi has his headquarters. Therefore, there should be no question of anyone leading this army but myself. Second in line should be General Nakagawa and third General Ikeda and I can tolerate no alteration of this order." They had no choice but to acquiesce.

Followed by a bare 2000, but 2000 men supported by absolute loyalty to their leader and an immovable faith, Ukon smashed into the front lines of Akechi's 15,000 troops. The victory was overwhelming. Ukon lost only one man but his army claimed over 200 of the enemy and put them to rout. Hideyoshi returned home triumphant to step into Nobunaga's shoes.

Ukon accompanied the new ruler of the country into many battles and always acquitted himself with great honor. In the distribution of honors that Hideyoshi held in 1585, Ukon received a substantial increase in income, gaining the fief of Akashi (Hyōgo Prefecture) for his household and his faith.

The Buddhist leaders were extremely alarmed when Ukon moved to Akashi. As the "head Christian daimyō" Ukon was the major

patron of the faith and a powerful patron at that. They could see the Christians multiplying before their eyes and it threw them into a panic. The Buddhist priests of Akashi met for a council and when the decision was reached piled their Buddhist statues in a boat and fled to Hideyoshi's headquarters in Osaka Castle. They pleaded with Hideyoshi for help.

"I gave Akashi to Ukon. He can do with it what he wants, it's none of my affair. You can just take all those statues you hauled in here to that old temple at Tennō-ji and use them for firewood!" They could still hear him shouting as they hurried from the castle.

The Second Trial

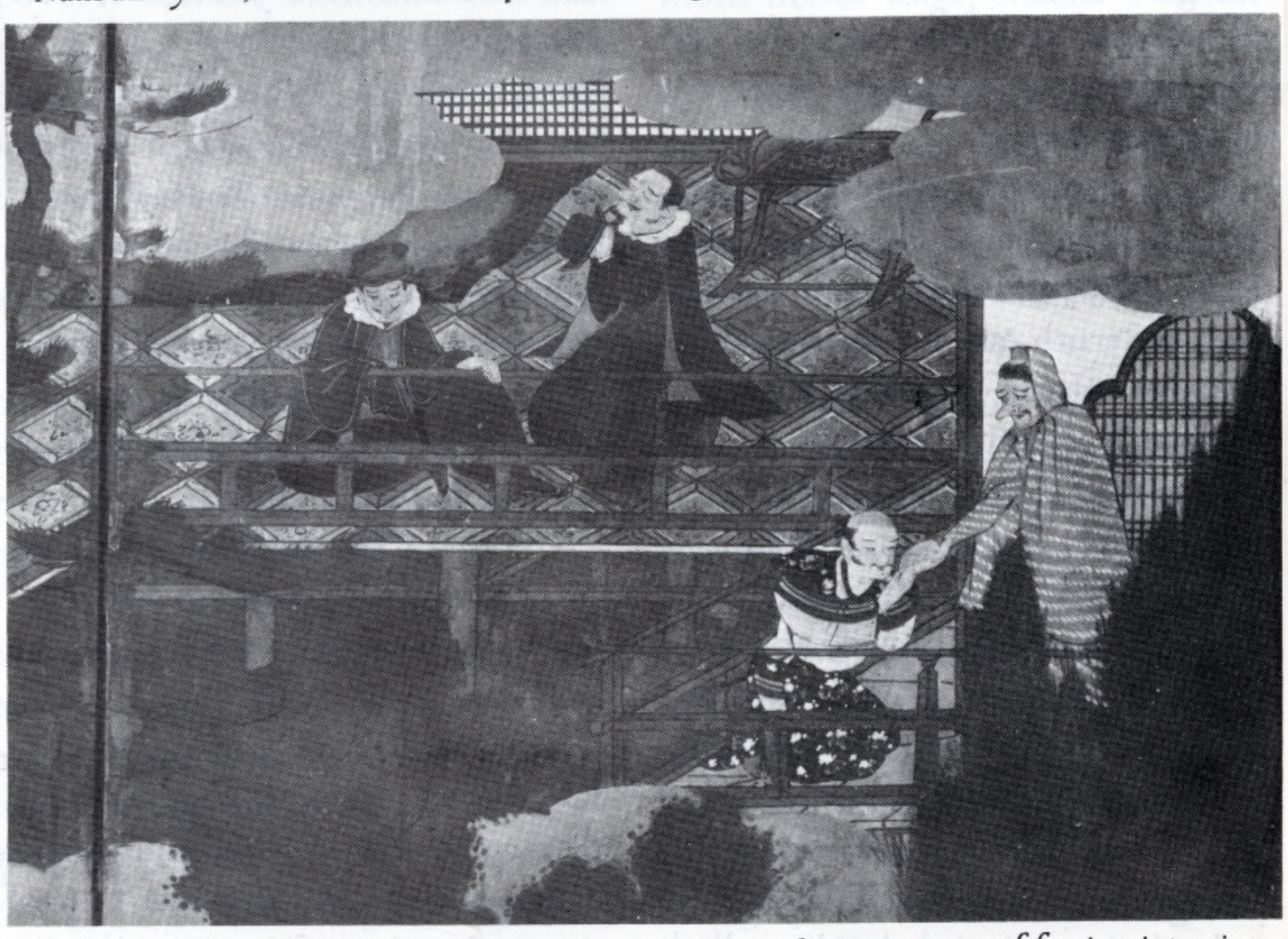
HIDEYOSHI FOLLOWED Nobunaga in the policy with regard to Christianity as in other matters. Then in 1587 came the bolt out of the blue. "Japan being the country of the (Shintō) gods, it is undesirable in the extreme to admit the heretical teachings from the Christian countries. . ." So stated the first of four articles in the edict evicting the missionaries from the country within twenty days, proclaimed by Hideyoshi from Hakata in Kyūshū where he was at the time occupied with bringing into the fold those rebellious lords who still had not submitted to him.

Various historians have offered all kinds of possible reasons which may have prompted Hideyoshi to this action. Some ascribe the motivation to the unwise zeal of the missionaries. When Portuguese Jesuit and Vice-Provincial of western Japan P. G. Coelho paid a visit to Hideyoshi to enlist his sympathy he rashly promised to "assemble all the Christian lords in Kyūshū and convince them to become Your Excellency's loyal allies." Far from being pleased, Hideyoshi foresaw that if the foreign missionaries could rally that much strength in his favor they could also do the same in an uprising against him and he hurried to destroy the threat.

Upon issuing the edict, Hideyoshi gathered his lords together and presented his explanation. "With the pretense of preaching personal salvation the Christian missionaries have been culling their forces and making preparations for a big revolution in Japan. They have extensive knowledge at their disposal and they have deceived many people of high position with their clever arguments. If the Christian missionaries were to lead the Christian lords in an uprising it would not be easy to put them down. . ." Hideyoshi saw a danger to his own authority in the strong solidarity that existed among the Christians foreign and Japanese.

Thus it was that Ukon faced the

Sixteenth century churches like this one incorporated Buddhist architectural design. (From "Nanban Byōbu," in Kobé Municipal Museum of Nanban Art)



Christian daimyō kneeling to foreign priest; Japanese rulers were wary of foreign intrusion. (From "Nanban Byōbu," Kobé Municipal Museum of Nanban Art)

second great trial of his faith. Hideyoshi was trying to depose the Christian lords or bring them all back under his unquestionable domination. And, known and respected as was Ukon for his staunch Christian faith, Hideyoshi was concentrating his proselytizing upon Ukon with the intention of making an example of him.

Several days after posting the edict, Hideyoshi sent an envoy to Ukon's temporary residence in Kyūshū to question him. The envoy conveyed Hideyoshi's words exactly as he had received them. "Your conversion has enabled the Jesuits to spread their beliefs widely among the lords and throughout the land. Furthermore, they have forged a closely unified group with bonds stronger than those between brother and brother, a situation which cannot be permitted in this realm. . . . If you wish to follow me as your lord henceforth you must cast off this faith immediately." The envoy reinforced the words of their master with his own opinion, "Even if it is only publicly you are well advised to make the gesture of renouncing the foreign creed." Ukon's many samurai friends who had come to his side quickly at the news were of the same opinion.

Ukon thanked them for their concern and then turned to the envoy. "Not the slightest deviation from the truth may be permitted in matters related to our God in Heaven. I consider it to my honor to have made Christians of the people of Takatsuki and Akashi. I would not give up my faith, the salvation of my soul for all there is on earth. I hereby and forthwith return all my lands and income to my lord Hideyoshi."

This reply so stirred Hideyoshi to regret for the loss of his capable and valorous general that he called Ukon's instructor in tea ceremony Sen no Rikyū and bade him try again to persuade Ukon. "If you take back the statement you have made you can be placed in the service of the lord of Higo (Kumamoto Prefecture)." Hideyoshi tried to offer him another chance to retain his status as a samurai.

But Ukon shook his head, "Once a true bushi has turned his heart toward Heaven his greatness lies in being steadfast. Is not unchanging loyalty to the commands of his Lord the true way of the samurai?"

Hideyoshi abandoned his efforts to dissuade Ukon and ordered the confiscation of his estate along with his banishment. For a bushi of that time such a punishment represented humiliation far more difficult to bear than death, but Ukon was forced to choose this path. A true samurai was expected in such cases to assert his personal views of right and justice and kill himself. The Christian ethic denied Ukon the right to suicide. He could only endure.

Ukon's nature was not such that he could tamely submit to banishment. He decided to throw away his swords, force his way to an audience with Hideyoshi and, after preaching the Christian way, die a martyr's death. When he confided his plan to his vassals, however, they tried passionately to dissuade him. "No one would gainsay the nobility of your purpose, but would you not in reality merely make Hideyoshi angry and lay down your life only so that he can vent his fury on the church itself?"

Ukon saw the truth of what they were saying and gave up his plan, resolving himself to a life in shame and exile.

The next day Ukon once again called his retainers together and reaffirmed his true commitment. "I bear not the slightest bit of regret for the misfortune that has befallen me. It does pain me deeply to know that each of you has lost a master and an income; but you are all Christians, you are all my equals, you are all faithful samurai. All of you have risked your lives in battle with me innumerable times and I sincerely wish to recompense you for your meritorious services. Unfortunately as things are now I cannot give you anything in an earthly way; I can only assure you that we may all look forward to our heavenly reward in the glorious kingdom of God to come." Ukon then bade his retainers seek service elsewhere so that they could provide for their wives and children.

The entire assembly was moved to tears and to deep admiration of their master for his enduring faith. To a man they swore to follow their master until death and confirmed the pledge by cutting their topknots, a sign that they were ready to die at any time. Moved to the heart by their deep feeling for him, Ukon soothed his men with the promise that they would be together eternally in the next world and left them.

Accompanied by four or five of his closest retainers and his wife and son whom he had sent for from Akashi, Ukon set out in a fishing boat to seek a place where they could dwell in exile. The party was sustained in the rigors of the journey by a deep joy at Ukon's honor in keeping the faith. Ukon had refused to accept the money sent by friends all over the country and the little ship with its almost penniless crew drifted from island to island.

Exile

ONCE THE EDICT had been passed Hideyoshi's administration saw to the destruction of churches in Kyōto, Osaka, Nagasaki, Bungo

Catholic church built in Takatsuki, Osaka, in Ukon's memory. Completed in 1962, it was modeled after a Chapel of the Madonna in Manila where Ukon spent his last days in exile.

(Oita Prefecture). Christian daimyō Konishi Yukinaga, who had been prompted to espouse the faith under the influence of Ukon, recognized the objects of Hideyoshi's suppressive movement as the foreign missionaries firstly and then Ukon. Konishi offered Ukon and the most active of the missionaries, Father Organtino, sanctuary, granting them the island of Shōdo in the Seto Inland Sea, included in his domain. Furthermore, he urged all the Christian lords in Kyūshū to do everything possible to shelter the Christian priests within their domains. He did so with full readiness to face martyrdom when Hideyoshi should bring him up for censure.

With a living thus guaranteed them, Ukon and his family and Organtino settled into a life of exile on Shōdo Island. Meanwhile, the missionaries under protection of the Christian lords were taking great risks to continue to minister to their flocks, masquerading as Japanese so that they could slip into Kyōto and Osaka to encourage the believers and administer the sacrament.

Organtino was moved to wonder at this lord who had shaved off the hairlock that identified him as a samurai, suffered oppression and poverty for the faith and yet was living here with his wife and child but with the fullest happiness in humility. When Organtino professed his admiration Ukon protested sincerely, "In Japan there are many samurai who have lost their lands in battle, or been killed, or received the sentence of death by their own hands. I rejoice to have lost my domain for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Konishi wanted for the sake of the man who was at once his teacher in the faith, his father and his brother to restore relations between Hideyoshi and Ukon. But he gave up the idea at Ukon's insistence. "I desire nothing," Ukon declared in earnest, "but the joy of living in faith with God and following Christ; neither advancement in the world nor earthly honors have the slightest appeal for me any more."

Konishi's protection of Christians in defiance of the edict eventually reached Hideyoshi's ears. Hideyoshi called Konishi before him for questioning. Konishi, however, took the offensive, explaining the reasons behind Ukon's actions and reproving Hideyoshi for being so misguided as to chastise a bushi of Ukon's loyalty and stature.

"You Christians despise loyalty to earthly masters, do you not?" Hideyoshi challenged.

"Take a look at Ukon if you want the answer to that question. A man who is loyal to God has true loyalty; such a man is a true samurai."

By and by Hideyoshi's passion began to cool and he came to regret his hasty condemnation of Ukon who had been a brave and faithful general under him. From time to time he asked after Ukon among his close advisers in a manner that revealed his concern.

Some time after, Hideyoshi contrived to have Ukon placed in "custody" of the lord of the mammoth fief of Kaga, Maeda Toshiié. Ukon agreed to accept the invitation from Maeda only on one condition: "I do not care if my allotment is small, but I will not go unless you build a church for us." Toshiié consented to build the church.

Although Ukon was officially in detention at Maeda's estate, in fact he was treated like an honored guest. Maeda developed strong ties with the stubborn Ukon who followed him into battle with characteristic valor at the siege of Odawara (see Vol. VI No. 3) and the Battle of Sekigahara (see Vol. VII No. 8); and Maeda evaluated Ukon so highly that he told his close retainers, "If Ukon had the chance he could be the top man in the nation;

he could replace Hideyoshi, or at least he is next to Hideyoshi in capability."

Ukon was a man of cultivation who composed poetry, but his real love was tea ceremony; his name figures among Sen no Rikyū's Seven Disciples. His cultural pursuits seem to have had an influence on the other bushi in Maeda's employ. Whether that is the main reason or not, Maeda's capital city of Kanazawa became one of the great centers for tea ceremony. For Ukon, though, the tea house was a house of prayer and he emphasized purification in the ceremony to a point almost of excess, causing a fellow Christian and lover of tea to remark wryly, "Ukon does not understand tea bare and simple."

And Yet Again Exile

But Kanazawa was not to offer Ukon a haven forever. The leaders of the world changed; Hideyoshi died and Tokugawa Ieyasu moved to the fore to found the Tokugawa Shogunate. In 1614 the 62-year-old Ukon was ordered by Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu to leave the country.

Maeda's retainers urged Ukon in chorus, "Face the fact that the times are changing and give up your unpopular religion."

"Don't ever say that to me even as a joke," Ukon replied.

Winter had come oppressively and cold to the deep mountains of the province of Kaga when Ukon set out on foot for Nagasaki with his wife Julia, their daughter, the five children of his son who had died and the retainers, maids and servants who had stuck with Ukon all those years. One of Maeda's chief retainers took it upon himself to supply Ukon with a daimyō's palanquin instead of the rude conveyance designated for criminals, such as Ukon was in the eyes of the state, and to allow him to wear his swords, but Ukon refused these demonstrations of the great respect he commanded, saying he preferred to walk. "I could not do that; it would only cause trouble for your lord."

In October of that year a ship supplied by the Nagasaki magistrate sailed out of Nagasaki in the direction of Manila. The ship encountered a bad storm on the way and the huge waves washing over the deck spilled into the passengers' rooms. Ukon's party suffered the worst damage. All their utensils and his daughter's and grandchildren's clothes were drenched through; but almost as though he did not see it, while the others were frantically trying to dry the clothes Ukon was up on the deck by himself holding open his wet *Bible* to the drying wind page by page.

The painful journey continued for an entire month. Then at last the Philippine ship was guiding them into the harbor at Manila where scores of Christians lined the beach shouting a friendly welcome. The Governor-General of Luzon Juan de Silva had been apprized of Ukon's distinguished exploits by the Jesuits and he turned out to meet Ukon's ship with a full military escort. The Philippine ship fired the first welcoming volley and was echoed by one thundering tribute after another from the cannons along the shore.

Ukon was escorted to the Governor-General's mansion where the mayor of Manila and a member of the governing council for the colony were waiting to receive him. In his welcoming speech the Governor-General saluted Ukon's courage as a soldier of Christ in braving so many dangers, finally enduring exile from his own country—"In the name of His Royal Majesty the King of Spain, I declare that our honored guest is to receive the very best of treatment."

In a voice shaking with emotion Ukon thanked them for their great kindness. "But," he demurred, "a man like myself who has failed to achieve the fervent desire to give his life for his Lord God does not deserve such honors."

After that the important and learned people of Manila came almost every day bringing presents to Ukon at the Jesuit school where he had been given lodging. The Governor-General considered it his natural duty as a Christian to assure the esteemed Ukon a living commensurate with a man of considerable rank, and he sent a messenger to offer his services in any manner that they might be rendered.

The answer the messenger brought back doubtless surprised the well-meaning Governor-General. "I wish to live an austere life as befits a Japanese exile. I have made provision for our needs so I ask you to have no concern in that direction. A Japanese samurai does not accept an income for doing nothing. I have left my retainers behind in my homeland and I am sure you will understand that as a general I cannot now accept a dispensation from the King of Spain."

Forty days after reaching Manila Ukon suddenly contracted an illness which proved fatal. He left a will written as his illness was worsening. It contained the exhortation to his grandchildren to "be exemplary Christians."

The mourning bells informed the entire city of Manila of Ukon's passing. His body was laid on a costly bier in the great hall of the Governor-General's mansion. In accord with his will he was attired in the formal dress that marked him as a Japanese samurai. 園

The Obstinate Tastemakers

The present proprietor of the shop, Fujimura Masahiro

There is a traditional shop in Tokyo that began making delicious Japanese confections—wagashi—three hundred and forty-seven years ago and is still making it in the same old way, by hand, in these modern days of precipitate mechanization. The name of the shop is Fujimura. The master of the shop is an obstinate man who is determined to uphold the name and family strictures that have been handed down and kept for all those generations in the face of all the hindrances of the contemporary age.

"Hazy evening," "Wind in the Pines," "Dancing Crane," "Plum in the Dark of Evening"—the names sound like titles for poems or paintings but they are not. They are the names of various kinds of candies. As important as the name, as important as the taste, are the colors, the shapes, the luster, the fragrance.

A certain confectionary shop of long standing in Kyōto refuses to sell sweets to customers who come in a car. The joggling automobile does violence to the shape of the soft sweets. That is how important the shape is to the sweets. It really does seem a crime to destroy the subtle shades of evening haze or one petal of the flower or the fine craftsmanship in the lovely little figure of the dancing crane by sinking your teeth into them. They are edible works of art.

Wagashi developed in accompaniment with tea ceremony as sweets to serve with and set off the tea. Unlike Western coffee or black tea, you can't put sugar in *o-cha*. You enjoy the astringency of green tea, and the taste most complementary to it is the soft sweetness of wagashi. You could say the confections are a substitute for the sugar in coffee or black tea.

It is difficult to appreciate Japanese sweets unless you understand the partnership they have with green tea. Without tea wagashi is just *very very* sweet.

In any case, wagashi is singularly appropriate to the spirit of tea. It is a feast for the eye but is not meant to please the eye alone. Western pastry cooks have explored the entire range of tastes in their search for the delicious, but Japanese confectioners have done nearly the opposite—concentrating on the possibilities of sugar and of sugar alone, trying to find ways of escaping from the direct, stimulating sweetness of the sugar to a subtle mellifluous treat for the tongue. The taste of the tea must not be cloying but must be enhanced by the confections; this was the aim of their efforts and the happy result.

As tea was the pleasure of the person of highly refined sensibilities so must the candy that went with it be, not only in design but even in the names which it took from the creations of nature, flowers, birds, earth and heavens.

There are all kinds of wagashi but perhaps the most representative is *yōkan*. A mixture of the jam of red sweet beans (*azuki*), gelatine and sugar shaped in a mold, yōkan does not require any particularly involved techniques and so appears perfectly simple to prepare. Those who make it, however, say that there is no sweet that is actually more difficult, or that more clearly reveals the cook's capability, than yōkan.

The sheen of the surface like still, clear water, the deep jewel-like color, the quality fragrance of the azuki and soft, moist texture, lovely to look at and delicious to eat—you don't find yōkan like that just everywhere. Percisely because the cook has no recourse to complex techniques but must rely upon his skill in regulating his materials and heat and in refining the simple ingredients, he displays his real talents here as perhaps nowhere else.

The giant who stands out of Meiji letters, Natsumé Sōseki, praises yōkan as a beautiful aesthetic experience in *Kusa Makura* (Pillow of Grass): "That smoothness and delicacy, and translucence with which it admits the rays of light—no matter how you view it this is a work of art. It is such a pleasure to look upon, refined to elicit nuances of blue, like a mixture of amber and precious stones. Yet when placed on a dish of celadon the yōkan with its bluish complexion shimmers and shimmers, as though the celadon had just given it birth, and one is

The unassuming exterior of Fujimura seems to belie a history of 347 years. If you are not careful you will walk right past it.

possessed of the desire to reach out and stroke it. . .”

You can buy yōkan like this in Tōkyō today, at a shop in the old Hongō section of Bunkyō Ward named Fujimura. Fujimura is a real *shinisé* (see Vol. VII No. 10), a shop in the old tradition that traces its lineage back through the generations directly for 347 years to the year 1626. The name Fujimura has been cited in Kabuki plays and many works of literature. It is known widely and not only among those with a specially sweet tooth.

Fujimura is the second from the busy corner. The store front is so unassuming and the entrance so narrow that you have to watch out or you will walk right past it. The two-story building that houses Fujimura is small, unobtrusive, even shabby.

You can barely make out the characters on the sign on the mortar roof 老舗藤村, shinise Fujimura. A few samples of confections in boxes are scattered carelessly in the glass window. You begin to wonder if this indifferent edifice is the same Fujimura that is so famous.

You brush aside the linen shop curtain dyed with the name of the shop and enter. Inside, boxes and all kinds of paraphanalia are strewn about the dark, narrow room, at most five square meters in area.

The specialty of this shop is yōkan with the light sweetness favored by the people of Edo. No machines are used. A total force of about twenty cooks make the confections by hand now as they have always been made in this shop. The proprietor has no interest in mass production, and the day’s wares are sold out each day by three or four o’clock in the afternoon. Since the shop refuses to open any branches in department stores or shopping complexes, if you want to sample the Fujimura taste you will have to hie yourself across town to Hongō near Tōkyō University. The inconvenient location does not seem to have discouraged very many customers though.

The present proprietor Fujimura Masahiro belongs to the 16th generation. “The founder Chūzaemon wrote in his manual of instructions: ‘*Azuki yoroshiku muda-zukai subeki-sōrō koto*—you should waste the azuki.’ We have followed that maxim, making lavish use of azuki almost to the point of waste. To keep bitterness out of the beans we throw away the part close to the hull and use only about a third of the bean—that’s the trick. Fujimura yōkan always contains bean and sugar in a proportion of one *shō* (3.8 pt.) to one *kanmé* (132.5 oz.). Even though the amount of sugar is so large our yōkan is still not too sweet and goes perfectly with *matcha* (powdered tea); but the way we do it is a family secret.”

One shō of azuki yields about 500–600 grams of bean jam but Fujimura must have some clever secret if they can put in all that sugar and still not have the yōkan come out disgustingly sweet. Whatever they do they must be doing it in the shop in the back but—“Sorry, I’m afraid that’s one thing we just can’t do: show you our special method of preparation. It’s a family rule that the ‘Fujimura method’ must not be

let outside the house. . .” His reply has the exact opposite effect from satisfying our curiosity. Such is the imperium of the shinisé.

It is common practice for merchants to “apportion the shop,” allowing apprentices who have worked their way up to the position of head clerk to use the name of the shop and open up new branches on their own. Fujimura has never done this. According to another family rule, Fujimura is the Hongō Fujimura and no other. The words of the founder are followed in this as in all other matters. Since everything is done by hand the daily production is limited; distributing elsewhere would only cause the taste to decline. They have allowed the Nihonbashi Mitsukoshi department store to sell their wares, but yōkan only. “Fluorescent lighting has an adverse effect on the taste of the fresh confections, so we don’t let anyone else sell them.

Let’s take the story back 347 years. One spring day the general Toyotomi Hideyoshi, then in control of the nation of Japan, invited many of the most influential lords in the land to his sumptuous estate Jurakudai for a tea party. Serving his guests the yōkan of Suruga-ya in Fushimi (Kyōto), he turned to lord of Kaga (Ishikawa Prefecture) Maeda Toshiié and said with self-satisfaction, “I’ll bet you’ve never tasted better yōkan than this.”

“I won’t be bested by that Monkey (Hideyoshi’s nickname),” Toshiié resolved and, carrying a sample of the yōkan back with him to Kanazawa, commanded that his fief produce a better.

The yōkan that Toshiié wanted was perfected in 1626 under Toshiié’s grandson Toshitsune by hardware merchant and tea fancier Kaneto-ya Chūzaemon who lived in the castle town of Kanazawa. He was the first generation of Fujimura. Tea was highly developed in Kanazawa, then a city, under the jurisdiction of Maeda who had studied Senké tea under the school’s founder Sen no Rikyū and who was one of the primary men of taste of the age; it was a natural place for all kinds of delicious accompanying candies to be developed.

Chūzaemon arranged his confections in a five-tiered box and presented it to Toshitsune. Toshitsune was delighted. “To what shall I compare the color of this delicacy? To the deep purple of wisteria (*fuji*)? To the lavender of irises? To what the fragrance? The taste is simple yet high in quality, the wisteria purple elegance itself!” So entranced was Toshitsune with the treat that he awarded Chūzaemon the family name Asaka (later changed to Fujimura), a short sword with irises on it and a family crest of hanging wisteria, these at a time when only samurai were allowed family names, swords or crests.

The light taste of the new yōkan represented a resistance against the heavily sweet taste of the Suruga-ya yōkan of which Hideyoshi was so proud. It was the movement away from the thick gaudiness of Azuchi-Momoyama culture and toward the aesthetic of *wabi-cha*, the unadorned and rustic. As the tea became, so became the confec-

The inside of the shop is narrow, crowded with boxes and other paraphanalia. One wonders if this place could really be the famous Fujimura.

tions that went with it.

People of Kanazawa even today display in the entrance hall a black lacquer box with the family crest on it modelled after the one in

which Chūzaemon presented his new taste discovery and such as was used on festive occasions.

Fujimura accompanied the Maeda family to Edo when the Shogunate was established there and built his shop near the Maeda estate in Hongō. Selective as Edo townsmen were in their taste, the products of Fujimura were just to their liking. Denominated one of the specialties of Edo, Fujimura yōkan appeared in Edo comic tales long and short and in Kabuki. A famous Kabuki actor actually had Fujimura manjū (bean jam cakes) procured for him specially, using them as props on stage. They were perfect for evoking the customs and feeling of the Edo Period in the theater. Nor has literature neglected Fujimura, which appears in Mori Ōgai's *Gan* (Geese), Natsumé Sōseki's *Sanshirō* and others. Available only in Hongō and priced but slightly high, Fujimura seems to be a choice of Tōkyō's high society.

The 16th generation Fujimura has an interesting personal history. After graduating from Tōkyō University with an LL.B., he became section head of a large bank, a business man, instead of docilely succeeding to the family business. Just as he was moving ahead full speed on his chosen path, his father, the 15th generation family head, died. He vacillated: should he step into his father's shoes or continue in the business world? But it was his fate to be born into a shinisé family.

"It's a strange story to relate, but one night my dead grandfather appeared to me in a dream. 'Fujimura has diminished greatly since it was burned in the war. You are the one who must revive it. You must become the restorer of Fujimura,' he told me. I was sure that my grandfather really wanted to tell me that and so I decided to become the head of the house."

Preserving the name of a shop with a strong tradition is not so easy as it may sound. The "name" is signified by the curtain—*noren*—and to a merchant household the noren embodies the authority and trust of the shop. Above all the shinisé owner fears the dreadful shame of marring confidence in the shop.

"We are concerned more than anything else with preserving the high quality taste handed down through the generations in Fujimura. With the controls after the war, materials were scarce and we couldn't get all the ingredients we needed. We could have substituted saccharin but we didn't want to damage the reputation of the shop so we suspended production for three years until 1948 when we could get them again.

"Even now we use absolutely no preservatives or synthetic coloring. The other day a customer came in and said that mold had grown on some of our yōkan he had had around for a while. When I apologized he said, 'Don't apologize. It just goes to prove that you don't use preservatives. I was really very impressed.' That made *me* feel kind of small! But then what with PCB and pollution and all these days it must make people feel good to know that they don't have to worry about Fujimura."

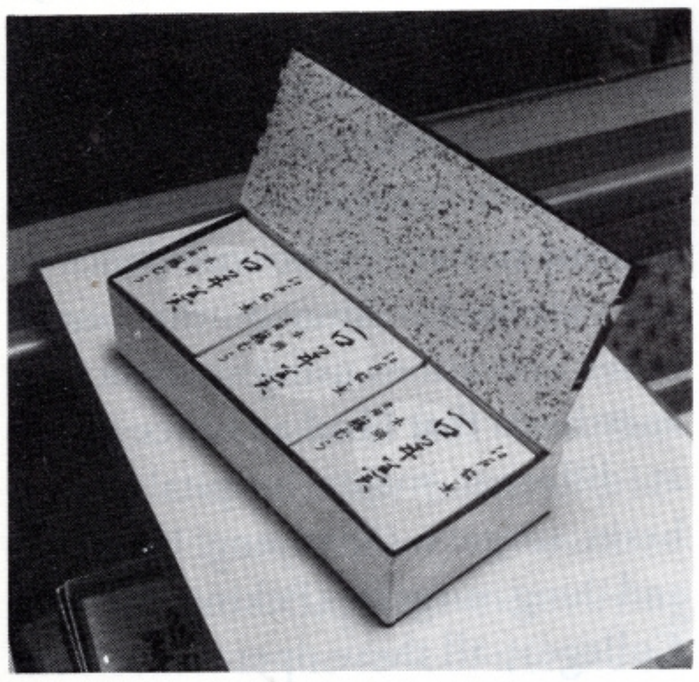
A confection is a living thing—that is the philosophy of the 16th generation of Fujimuras. And that is also why he refuses to admit any new-fangled machinery. Pour on oil, run the electricity through and a machine could produce volumes of candies all of exactly the same quality any time at all, but that would be like the Buddhist image in the old saying, "carving the Buddha and putting no spirit into it." The taste may vary a bit day by day, but you can't beat hand-made, the proprietor insists. He even goes so far as to warn his customers that the taste may be a little different on days when one of his regular workers is out. This is what is meant by *shinisé no ryōshin*—the conscientiousness of the shinisé.

There is a kind of chilling mystery in the way of shinisé. A cook who had been with Fujimura for a longtime was enticed by a famous confectionary to go to work for them. He used the same ingredients

in the same proportions, mixed them in the same way as he had at Fujimura—but he just could not duplicate the taste.

"I really think this is a 'mystery zone.' The spirit of past generations seems to dwell in the pot and in the spatula and unless you use these very tools you can't make what they have made."

The shop does practically no advertising. They have no need to, they are already so well known. And just as the production has been handed down through the generations in the shop, so the customers have become hereditary, father bequeathing his propensities to the son and son to the grandson. Tōkyō University students carry presents back home to the country. Other people do their advertising for them. The fifty-page leaflet a new customer receives with his purchase includes praises from past literary masterpieces, records of the times Fujimura has been taken up by the mass communications, eulogies by people from all over the country. . . . "Felt like I was coming home. . . ." "Was completely taken with it. . . ." "My mother and father used to enjoy the yōkan. . . ." "Don't give in to the current of the times but keep the old taste. . . ." "The clear and unclouded, mirror-like surface of the yōkan is like an expensive work of art that recalls the memories of the past. . . ." "Being able to eat this candy regularly is one of the pleasures of my life. . . ." And so on.



The shop is famous for its yōkan which is sweet enough to be good with tea but not too sweet, a taste that delights Tōkyōites as it delighted Edoites.

These days you can obtain "famous products" and "famous candies" without too much difficulty. Department stores carry specialties from all over the country. But there is something too facile and false about getting things that way. Specialties should be special, old traditional shops should be traditional. Shinisé are stubborn and narrow-minded about this. If you want Fujimura yōkan you go to Hongō to get it. If the shop relinquished its perversity, generations of Fujimuras would be crying. You could say that it's not enough to just sample the taste of the yōkan of this "rare cultural treasure."

With his background as a graduate of Tōkyō University's law school and experience in an important business position, the proprietor of Fujimura has been urged to run for the Diet, and in fact another man from a similar old establishment with a long tradition is now extremely active in politics. But the family rule "one house, one business" decided him on the pursuit of refined sweet taste and that alone. He refused.

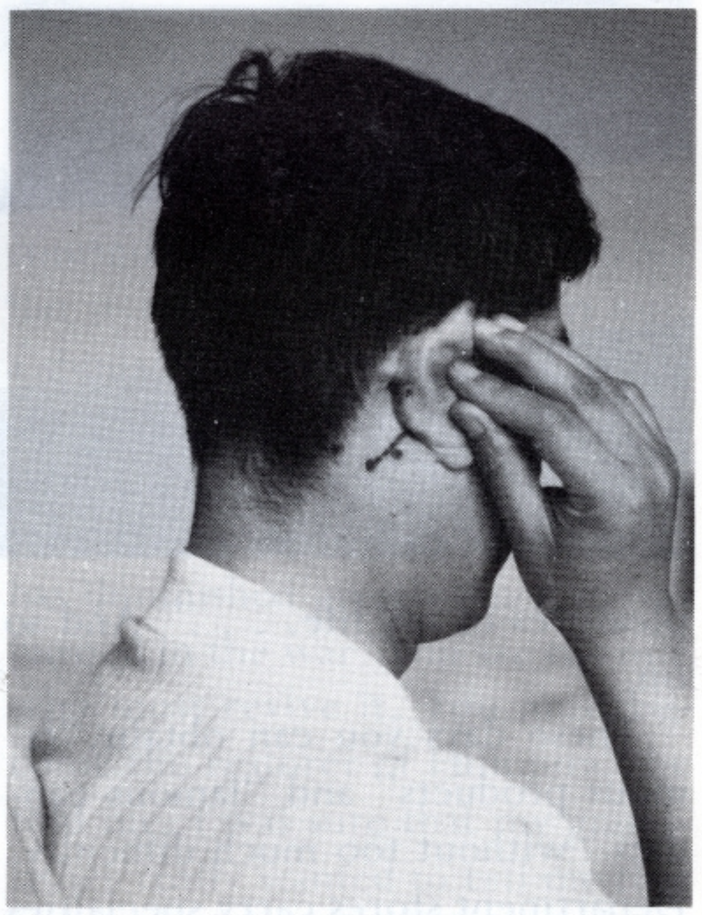
"Life with no sweetness is a dull grey. For some reason all the men in our family have had round peaceful faces, never strongly masculine. It's probably because of the nature of our business. Anyway, you often hear of people drinking liquor and getting into fights but I've never heard of anyone eating candy and beating someone up." 東

The sudden discovery by the world of the use of acupuncture in anesthesia in China has occasioned quite a stir. It has been hailed as "miraculous" and "mysterious" because of the startling results that have been attained and the rather different concept of medicine on which it is based. But what is Chinese medicine really about? Recently Dr. Okamoto Michinari, Professor in Shōwa University's Department of Medicine, visited China for a month to observe the medical situation in China in his field of specialty. The following are his objective observations and thoughts regarding Chinese and Western medicine.

Witness Report: Acupuncture Works

by Dr. Okamoto Michinari, Professor, Shōwa University
Department of Medicine

Surprise and admiration have pervaded the firsthand reports by Japanese Diet members and journalists of their observation of acupuncture anesthesia and needle treatment in China. But I could not help being skeptical. Can a patient really be anesthetized for a major operation with needles alone? Can deafness be cured with acupuncture? My misgivings seemed to multiply endlessly. Trained in Western medicine, I found the reported achievements beyond belief. By and by I began to want to visit China and see for myself. The opportunity came my way in May, 1972. At the invitation of the Chinese Medical Association, I visited the country for nearly a month, observing the present situation in Chinese medicine and exchanging opinions with Chinese doctors.



The black mark indicates the critical point (tsubo) behind the ear where the needle is inserted for ear operations.

Needle Anesthesia

In JAPAN, the practice of relieving pain by inserting electrified needles has been known to some acupuncturists, but no operation under acupuncture anesthesia has been conducted. During my visit, I witnessed the effectiveness of needles in anesthesia—and it impressed me immensely.

The day following my arrival in Kwangchow, I was shown a thyroidectomy, stomach extraction and appendectomy under acupuncture anesthesia at the People's Hospital in Canton. The surgeons seemed to have great confidence in the method. Among the many other operations using acupuncture anesthesia that I had a chance to see at different major hospitals were brain surgery (Shenyang Hospital) and lung surgery (Peking Medical College); all these operations went very smoothly. Even in a small local hospital at a commune, I saw a thyroid operation. I gathered that acupuncture anesthesia is so popular that it is conducted in any hospital in China today.

They showed me many operations conducted under acupuncture anesthesia in my field of otorhinolaryngology (ear, nose and

throat) including those for deformity of the septum, empyema, sinusitis, tympanitis and tonsillitis. Operations on cataracts, strabismus and tooth extractions were also conducted under acupuncture anesthesia. I was told that operations on the body above the neck are mostly done under acupuncture anesthesia, with a success rate of over 90%.

Needles for this purpose are five to seven centimeters long and are inserted two to five centimeters deep, depending on the location of the points.

They use three methods of insertions; the first is to run electric current through the pair of needles; the second lies in moving the needles rapidly up and down; the third is to do nothing after the insertion of the needles. In any case, the needles seemed to stimulate something under the skin.

The locations where the needles are inserted are vitally important. It is easy to assume that for the operations on ears anesthesia is effected by inserting the needles deep above and under or before and behind the deep external ear and then electrifying them. For tooth extraction, the needles are inserted deep in the cheeks, and then deftly twirled; I can see how this process would stimulate the nerves that run into the teeth.

Thyroidectomies and tonsillectomies are puzzles, however, because neck and throat are anesthetized by inserting end electrifying the needles at the root of the thumb and on the inner sides of the wrists, nowhere near the areas to be operated on. The recently announced "gate control" theory is a source of amazement to me. Another riddle is the successful lung operation effected only by inserting one needle in the outer side of the hand. The reason, I was told, is the theory of the critical points (*tsubo* in Japanese) in the network known since ancient times in China. In any case, the Chinese doctors themselves did not seem certain about why acupuncture anesthesia is effective. As they told me, "We don't know exactly why aspirin is effective, but we use it because we know it works. By the same token, we use acupuncture anesthesia because it does the trick."

They say the application of acupuncture anesthesia involves something spiritual and I believe it does. About 20% of the total operations are conducted using acupuncture anesthesia, and the patients are undoubtedly selected. During my visit to the Tientsin Hospital, a child was rushed in; his wrist bone had been broken when he fell from an iron bar in his schoolyard. Immediately the doctor began to reset the bone, anesthetizing the pain by inserting the needles in his wrist. Throughout the operation the boy looked as if nothing was being done to him, showing no signs of discomfort. I believe what is spiritually necessary for a successful operation is not special training but close mutual faith between the physician and the patient.

Acupuncture Therapy for Deafness

In JAPAN infants are given hearing tests and any children discovered to have hearing trouble begin therapy at the very early stages. Since reports of Chinese acupuncture therapy for deafness have come through, Japanese parents have been impressed and have began to insist that their children be able to receive similar treatment. As parents, you can't blame them.

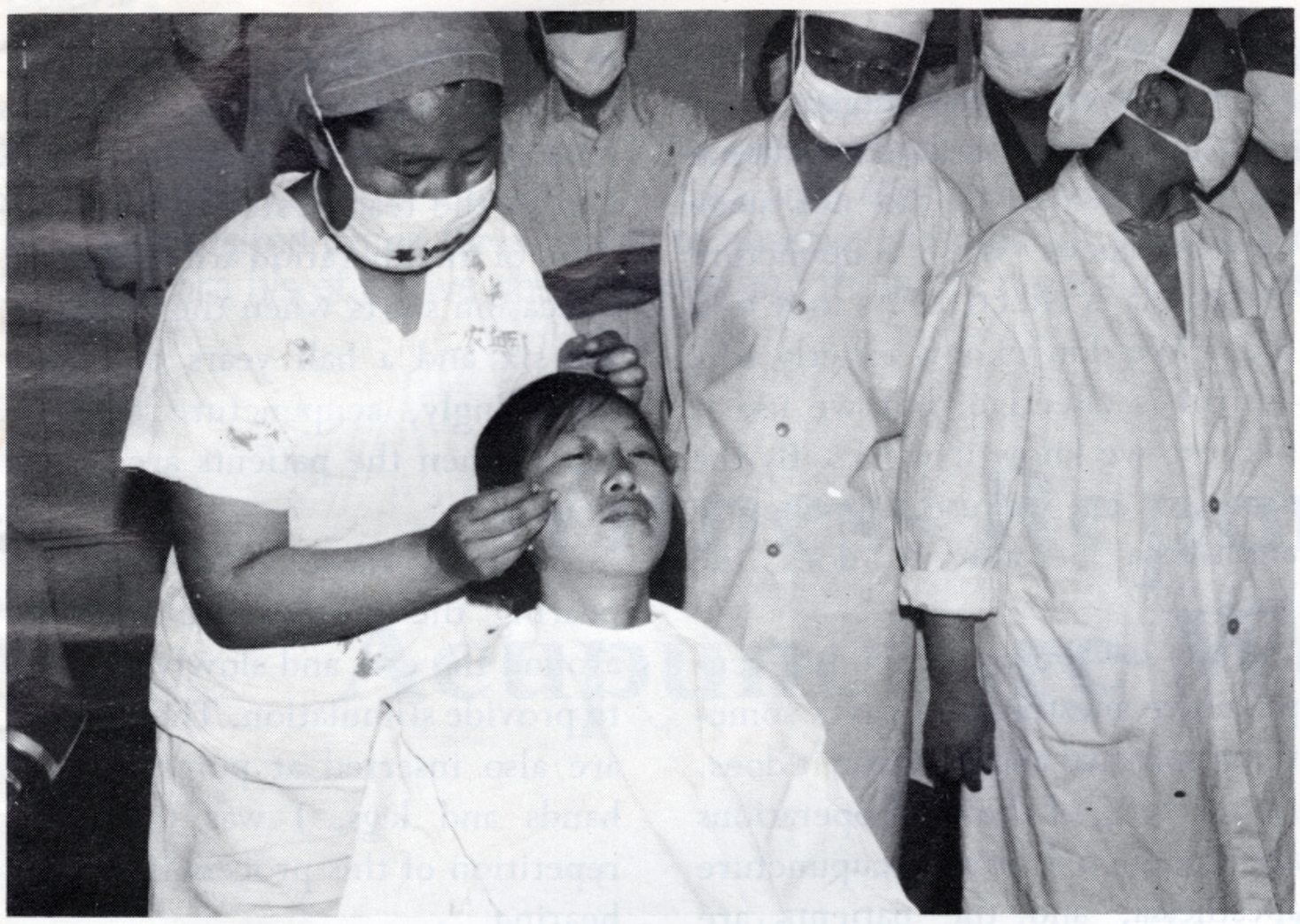
Chinese acupuncture is given not in hospitals, but in the school for the deaf as a part of the curriculum. It is given not by acupuncturists but by the teachers or by the soldiers of the liberation army. School education starts when the children are six and a half years old and, accordingly, acupuncture therapy starts when the patients are about seven.

To treat those with impaired hearing the needles are inserted around the ears and slowly twirled to provide stimulation. The needles are also inserted at points in the hands and legs. I was told that repetition of this process improves hearing.

Western physicians ascribe difficulty in hearing to a problem in the ears—a block or damage somewhere along the route that transmits the sound impulses to the brain. They claim that it is cured by removing the trouble. However, Chinese physicians hold the illness and disorders of the body as a whole that appear in the ears responsible for difficulty in hearing. As a consequence, they treat not merely the ears but the whole body. This reasoning is medically justified by the fact that we know difficulty in hearing is often caused by encephalitis, poisoning or renal trouble. The necessity of the whole body treatment is also unquestionable in view of the fact that many children having difficulty in hearing are frail.

With acupuncture therapy twelve percent of the deaf children regain normal speaking ability and sixteen percent the ability to understand conversations. But it is also acknowledged that the therapy has little effect on some patients.

I found the diagnosis and hearing tests in China insufficient; the patients receive no examination from otorhinolaryngologists nor hearing tests by audiometer. Therefore, I have great doubt as to whether the



The needles are inserted deep into the cheeks and carefully twirled to anesthetize the patient while his teeth are being removed.

rate of cure is as high as they claim. Yet my reservations may be insignificant if the purpose of the treatment is to enable the patients to speak and hear words and if pure sounds do not matter.

The training at the school for the deaf is undertaken with great enthusiasm. Teachers speak loudly in instructing their students, while the students shout to practice hearing. Though of varying degrees of hearing capability, they cooperate with each other in training themselves, using no hearing aids and speaking in fortissimo.

For thyroid operations and tonsillectomies the needles are inserted in the bases of the thumbs and wrists and electrified.

Chinese Medicine

In CHINA both the traditional Oriental medicine and modern Western medicine are practiced. Western medicine in China is far from advanced. But both work in harmony. The doctors told me that they have two arms, Oriental and Occidental medicine; I agreed.

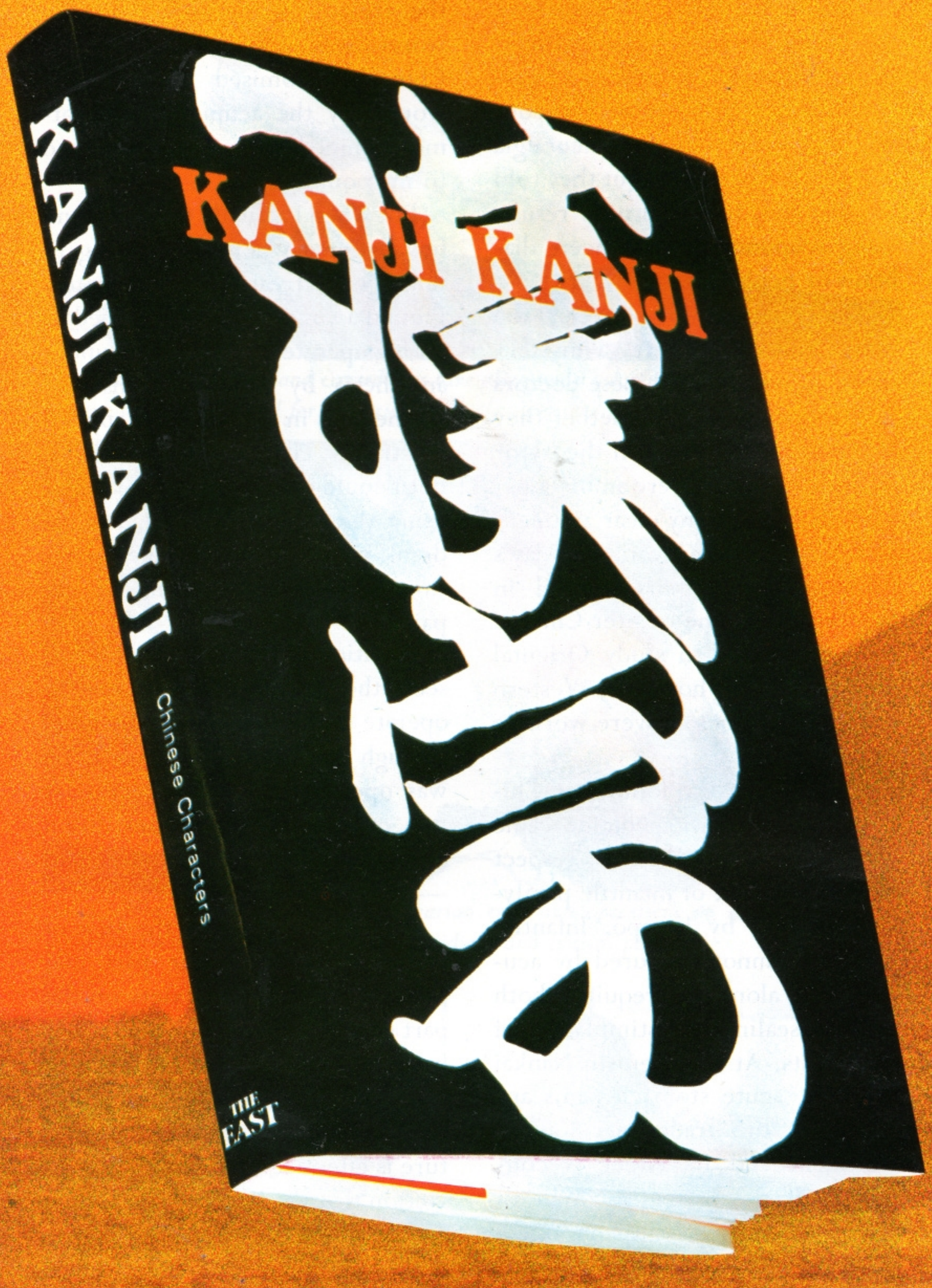
Western medicine places great emphasis on cytology, attempting to cure illness by observing and remedying changes in the cells. Doctors make efforts to cure liver or stomach diseases by examining how the liver or stomach functions and studying how its cells function and change. In Oriental medicine, the whole body is examined to find any local disorder, with the intent of restoring the patient's balanced health.

Diagnosis consists in applying the stethoscope and taking the pulse; detailed examination as practiced in Western medicine is not employed. Therefore, the results of the examination do not satisfy Western physicians. Not everyone can be throught to have tuberculous lymphadenitis or acute inflammation of the pancreas. No more convincing is their diagnosis of hard hearing.

Chinese doctors seem to admit that Occidental medicine is better than Oriental as far as techniques of diagnosis are concerned. But when they say, "True, you are very good at diagnosis and examination, but you cannot cure your patients' illness. The purpose of medicine is to cure people, isn't it?" we are left without a reply.

In Oriental medicine inner or outer causes are held responsible for any illness. This contention sounds reasonable as it stands; the definition of outer causes is different, however—alterations in a weather or climate such as cold,

KANJI KANJI was made for our readers!



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, wind, damp, dryness, fire.

We would ascribe the same ailments to bacilli and viruses; the weather and climate are secondary factors. In Oriental medicine, malnutrition and overwork are included in outer causes, and inner causes include emotional troubles —joy, anger, love, sorrow, surprise and fear. I was considerably impressed by this interesting concept.

In the past we have sought the causes of illness outside the body and neglected to probe the inner causes. We have been able to deal, to some extent, with bacilli and external wounds, but illnesses do not decrease. On the contrary, illnesses with inner causes are anticipated to increase. No wonder Oriental medicine has gained such popularity of late. I now believe that Occidental medicine must go back to its starting point and be rethought.

Oriental acupuncture therapy is underlined by the meridian and critical points theory, which is a great enigma to those of us who have studied Western medicine exclusively. Ancient Chinese knew that stimulation of particular points of the body helps cure complaints; they thought that twelve meridians link the critical points, running vertically up and down the body, activating the blood and *ch'i* (*ki* 気, translated as "vital energy"). They thought that the points connect with the intestines and their stimulation can improve bodily conditions and cure the illness. Acupuncture therapy is administered in Oriental medicine on the basis of this theory and needles are inserted in parts startling by the standards of Western medicine.

They insert the needles in the legs for the treatment of hypertension and in the neck for optic nerve contraction. I was told that the insertion of the needles in noses and lips to anesthetize the patient while removing an ovarian cyst is also based on the same theory.

They also tackle the diseases long considered hopeless by Western medicine. They seem to have scored a fairly good record with afflictions like the aftereffects of cerebral hemorrhage, muscular contraction, various kinds of neuralgia and nervous paralysis; but they told me that they have had poor results using acupuncture on cancer, diabetes or nephrosis.

The relationship between the points and diseases was a mystery to us, so we asked Chinese doctors in Western medicine whether they believed in the meridian theory or not. Their replies were ambiguous; we failed to get any clear and definite answers. However, in today's China, many doctors trained in Western medicine reenter Chinese Medical School to study Oriental medicine. In big hospitals, Western and Chinese doctors were working in concert.

That is how the joining of Chinese and Western medicine came about. One example in this respect is the treatment of infantile paralysis and cure by Kampō. Infantile paralysis cannot be cured by acupuncture alone; it requires both surgical sealing and stimulation of the points. At the Tientsin Nankai Hospital, acute stomach pains are cured by the traditional Kampō treatment and its effect is confirmed. If the patient's condition changes rapidly, a surgeon operates. These are some examples of the trend toward the development of new medicine in many parts of China.

Back in Japan

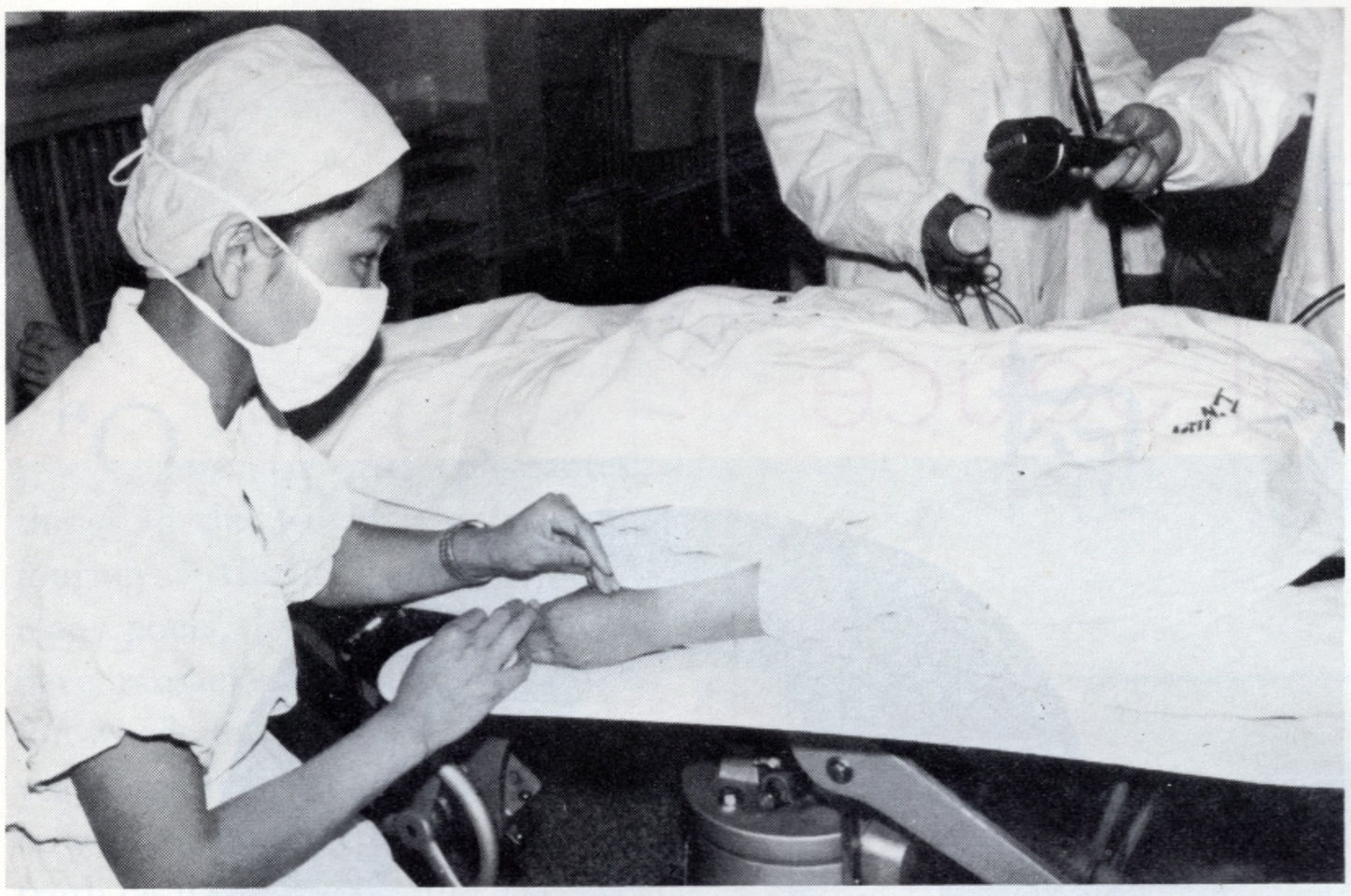
I HAD LITTLE advance knowledge of Chinese medicine when I made my recent visit. For the first time in my life, I received acupuncture treatment. At first I hesitated to receive the needles, but after the treatment I was convinced that the treatment was effective. My worry was gone. Before I left China, I promised them that I would try the acupuncture treatment immediately after I returned to my country.

But when I actually tried, I found few patients who were willing to undergo the treatment. Fortunately I found a young man who agreed to let me operate on his tonsils under anesthesia by needles. I inserted the needles in his hand and applied electricity. The patient felt pain, but I could operate on him without using the local anesthetic, and he drank water right after the operation without complaining of any pain.

A patient of empyema who had seen the operation asked me to operate on him using acupuncture. Though it was not scheduled, he was operated on with success. A few cases of empyema and brain operations have proved successful —at the rate of about 70%.

Probably because of the lack of technical skill on our part and probably because of anxiety on the part of our patients, our operations have not attained the measure of success we witnessed in China. But anyhow we have seen that acupuncture is effective. Now it is our conviction that the simultaneous use of needle and local anesthesia in Japan will assure greater effectiveness than when only local anesthesia is used.

I think that needle anesthesia is successful, but as far as the treatment of hearing difficulties is concerned, I have not yet reached any conclusion. There may be some cases of hard hearing that can be cured by needles, though I still



Operations for cataracts and crossed eyes take place under acupuncture anesthesia. Ninety percent success is claimed for operations from the neck up.

Acupuncture is used for removal of ovarian cysts and operations on nose and lips in accordance with the ancient theory of meridians and critical points.

"Barefoot doctors" administer to the needs of the Chinese farming villages where medical facilities are still quite poor.

cannot be sure. But recalling the vigorous enthusiasm of the Chinese instructors, I do believe that the needle treatment as a part of rehabilitation and education may bring results. We have directed our efforts to curing impaired hearing, failed and then given up, whereas in China they seem to have succeeded in the goal of educating their patients and guiding them to live.

In China we were shown a few cases of successful regrafting of amputated arms and legs. At that time they told us, "Workers need even one arm or one leg." To save only a single patient, they will mobilize trains or airplanes, of which China has a limited number; and they think only of saving the man, not sparing needed money. The Chinese doctors are deeply dedicated to working for the sake of the people as well as for the purpose of medicine.

Chinese medicine is no miracle. It embodies the wishes of the people. Therefore, they recount some cases which Western doctors find hard to believe. The fact is that these can not be explained by the theory of Western medicine. It is our future duty to probe these seemingly miraculous facts with the instruments of science. In China medicine exists in the national interest, and there is not much freedom for research. Financial resources are not plentiful.

We must not play up the "miracles" and investigate these exceptional cases alone but must objectively evaluate what Chinese medicine has to offer and give it our cooperation. It behooves us to scientifically examine the great tradition of medicine that has been in existence for more than two thousand years and render what service we can to the people of the entire world. 東

Cabbage Roll in Crystal Sauce

This is a very simple cabbage roll made with Chinese cabbage and given a special, appealing flavor by the use of minced chicken and the shimmering "crystal" sauce. It tastes best if you eat it right after you fix it—and you will want to.

Ingredients (Serves Four):

- 8 leaves of Chinese cabbage
- 1 egg
- $\frac{1}{3}$ onion
- 12 oz. minced chicken

A
- 1 teaspoon salt
- pinch msg

B
- 1 cup dashi (soup stock)
- $\frac{1}{2}$ level teaspoon salt
- 2 teaspoons saké
- 1 tablespoon cornstarch
- msg
- hot mustard

To Prepare:

1. Choosing the finest outer leaves from a head of Chinese cabbage, boil them lightly in hot salt water and dry in cloth.
2. Hardboil the egg and chop it. Add chopped onion and squeeze out water in cloth.
3. In a bowl mix well the egg and onion, minced chicken, salt and msg (ingredients A).
4. Next you roll the cabbage. If you have a maki-su (see explanation in box), this works best; otherwise slightly stiff cloth will do. Lay the maki-su flat and pile the leaves on top, alternating root and tip ends to even out the thickness. Spread the mixture 3. evenly on top and then roll the maki-su up toward you with the cabbage and filling in it to make as round a cylinder as you can.
5. Steam maki-su and contents for 50 minutes. When it is done remove the maki-su and cut into rings about 1 inch thick.
6. Heat dashi, salt, saké, cornstarch and msg (ingredients B) in pan, stirring together to make sauce.
7. Put sauce on cabbage roll and serve. 東

Maki-su

Woven from thinly cut strands of bamboo, the maki-su is a very handy kitchen help that is often used in Japanese cooking. Spread *nori* (dried laver) on it and then an even layer of cooked rice plus some cucumbers or scrambled egg or pickles, roll up and you have *nori-maki*, "rice roll" which can be cut into rings for a tasty lunch. Spread boiled spinach on it, add a layer of crab and/or soba (buckwheat noodles) and roll. . . . You can do any number of variations on the theme and the rings make lovely hors d'oeuvres on a pretty plate.

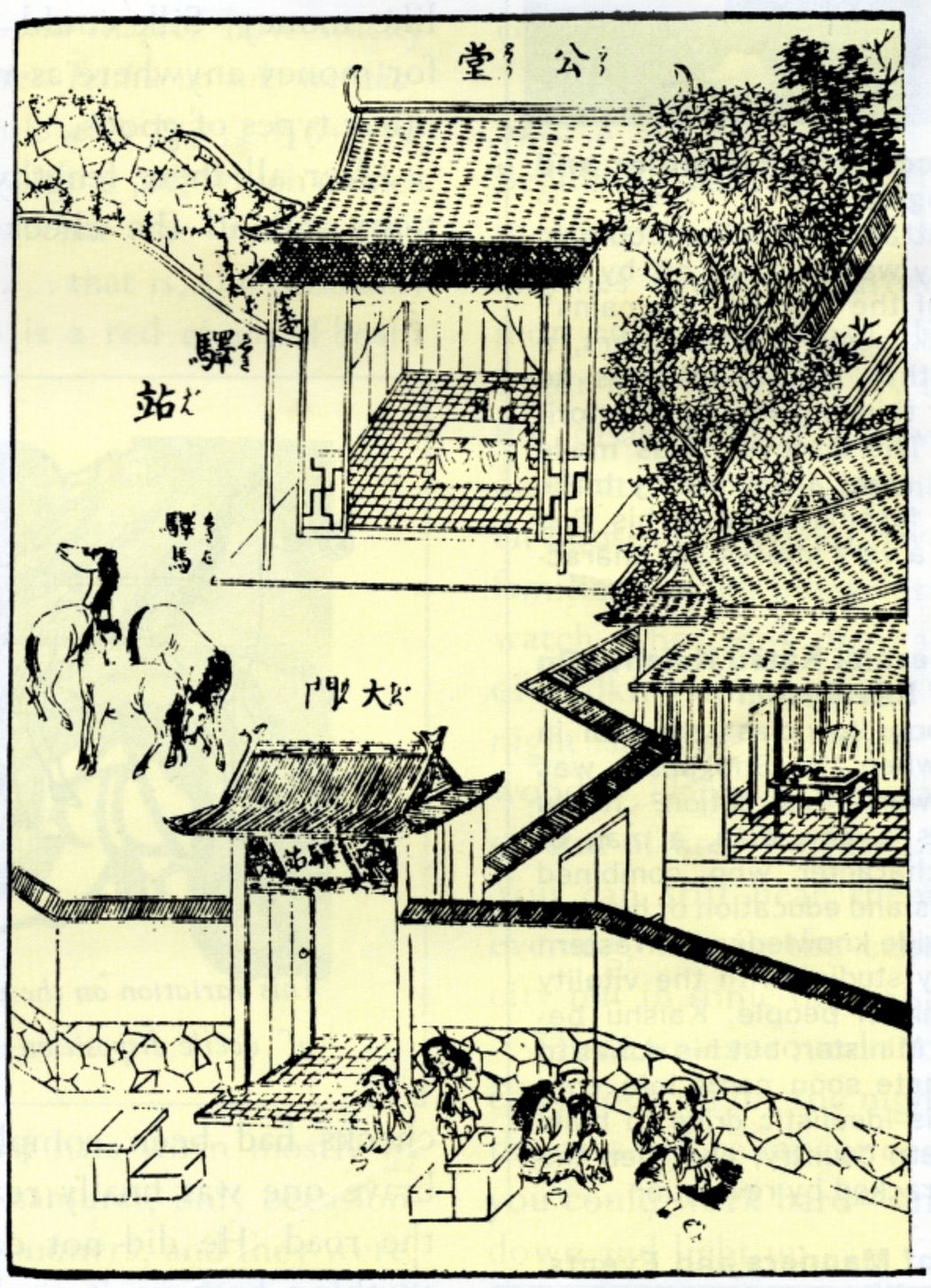
The Long Hard Journey

苦旅 旅

"One of the pleasantest things in the world is going on a journey," Hazlitt said, and how many poets, Japanese and Chinese, have ransacked their imaginations for words to pour out their happy yearnings for the Road? Likewise how many travel agencies? But the truth (as usual?) is painful. For people of prior days, a trip was, as the Japanese saying has it, "a miserable thing, a hard thing."

According to *A Consideration of Chinese Social Customs Through the Ages* 歷代社会風俗事物考 by Shang Ping Ho 尚秉和, neither bureaucrats nor common people who went a-travelling in the Chou Period (B.C. 13th century to B.C. 3rd century) could expect to find a drive-in along the roadside. They had no place to slake their thirst or stifle rumbling stomachs from departure to destination, and when they stopped at an inn for the night they could wait in vain for anyone to serve dinner or breakfast or even snacks. A traveller had to bring his own or go without. Food was packed in bamboo containers but inevitably there were those who did not bring enough provisions and had to wander the roads literally singing for their supper as the old writings say.

Not only did the sojourner have to bring along his own food, he also had to carry the utensils to prepare and eat it with. Even if he found a room for the night chances were he couldn't borrow a pot or a pan to use for cooking. Obviously travelling light was out of the question. Pots, pans, spoons, chopsticks, bowls, ladles—he must have looked like a travelling hardware store.



Stable at an inn, necessary for only the very rich as the presence of the beggars outside the gate seems to suggest.

A third inconvenience attests to the alacrity with which Chinese bureaucracy developed. By this period China already had a passport system. Travelling was illegal without an official pass and innkeepers checked each guest who lodged with them, for permitting an unlicensed traveller to stay comprised a punishable crime. "Any person passing through the country or to some place outside the capital is to carry certification; persons without license or certification are to be confined in prison." Those were the rules. And of course it goes without saying that you'll end up in the same place today if you wander around foreign countries

Coming Up in the Next Issue:

People: Occupation: Peddler and Archaeologist

The great archaeological boom in Japan today was touched off by the discovery of the "Iwajuku Remains" dating back some 30,000 years, a discovery that forced scholars to revise their thinking about prehistorical Japan. The discovery was made by a young man, a peddler by trade and whose fascination with his find makes him a very interesting character to meet.

Great Generals: Katsu Kaishū, On the Eve of Revolution

Born a poor low-class samurai in the days when the Shogunate was veering toward destruction, Katsu Kaishū was a new man, a man of towering character who combined the qualities and education of his own class and wide knowledge in Western and military studies with the vitality of the common people. Kaishū became Navy Minister; but his duties to the Shogunate soon came into conflict with his idealistic drive to build a new modern country, and then the land was wracked by revolution . . .

Calendar of Manners and Events: What to Do When

What do Japanese send people for _____? What do they do when a close friend passes away? With this issue we begin a new series that answers so many of the questions of what to do for what occasion today by exploring the old customs and their origins, for the old customs are still very much a part of Japanese daily life.

and lots more besides

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without a legal passport.

Aside from the three drawbacks listed above, taking jaunts about the countryside cost money. Interestingly enough, up until about the tenth century, Chinese carried their travel expenses in the form of silk cloth. Gold and silver were valued sufficiently highly, but financing a trip of any length could make things pretty heavy. Bolts of silk were lightweight and could be used as a medium of exchange just like money. Silk could be traded for money anywhere as well as for other types of goods.

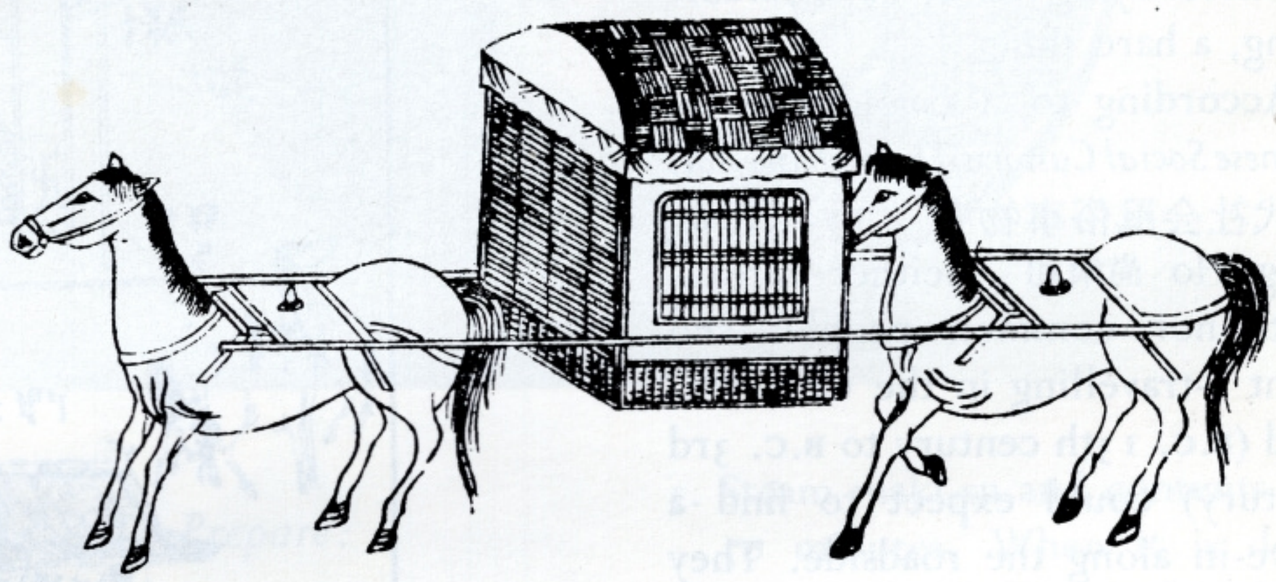
After all these lengthy preparations and all the checks and rechecks had been completed, the brave one was finally ready to hit the road. He did not dare forget anything because it probably was going to take him a long time to get where he was going. He might walk the weary miles or if he was well to do watch them disappear under the feet of a (weary) horse.

People go on journeys today with very pleasant aims, to "get a change of air" and "see the countryside." If a Chou Chinese could hear that he would probably just guffaw. Taking trips was no fun; it was business and about the only people who ever left their home towns were merchants and officials.

If you don't believe that it was all that bad, take a look at the origin of the Kanji for a journey: 旅, *ryo*, *tabi*. That should show you how serious a business 旅 was.

旅 was originally written 𣂑, a picture of two people under a flag. Two is a multitude.

As you may remember from the discussion of the cart 車 (Vol. VIII No. 9), Chou nobles assembled in places removed from the capital, wide plains, to, say, conclude alliances. The assembly grounds were specially prepared to host the VIPs. A double enclosure was constructed of interlocking pieces of wood and the carts which had carried the multitude thither arranged in a wall around it. The two carts forming the entranceway to the center of the fortification were set so that their shafts swept vertically into the air and flags were fixed to them. They thus became the gate. (See figure.)



This variation on the palanquin was usually propelled by two mules, of docile disposition one would hope.

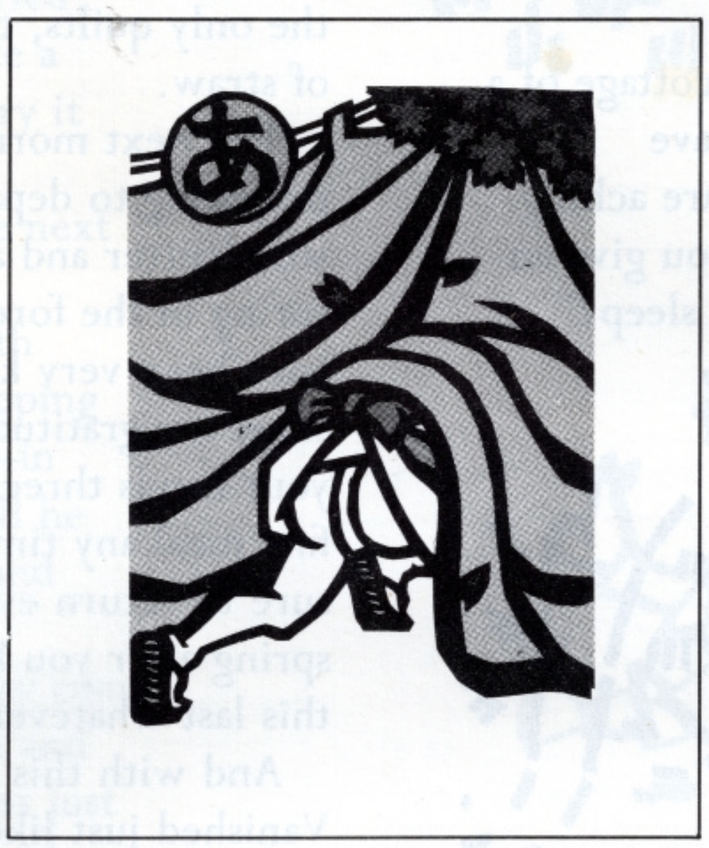
So the prototypal 旅 was a gathering of lots of people under the flags. And in order to gather under the flags the lots of people had had to come great distances. Multitudes also gather under flags and move as groups in an activity which is about as far removed from the "pleasant journey" as can be—the activity of war. 東

Leaving the Tyrant His Penchants

BACK IN THE DAYS when battle was unending and confusion reigned, in the Sengoku Jidai, one man emerged from among the innumerable feuding warlords to unify the country. He was Oda Nobunaga. Nobunaga was a progressive general who disliked being bound by old customs and religions. Disliking, he refused. Born the eldest son and heir to the lord of Owari (Aichi Prefecture), he balked at wearing the elaborate formal dress befitting the son of a daimyō and ran around looking more like a bandit than anything else. His retainers grimaced at one another and called him a "Fool!" behind his back many times, but when it came to putting it straight to Nobunaga and admonishing him to reform his actions, not one of them stepped forth to bell the cat. That was the way of things. You kept your mouth shut and followed your lord no matter how crazy you thought he was.

The installation of U.S. models of "democratic education" in Japan after the war has weakened the father's absolute power as the head of the house, but prior to that minor revolution the authority of the head of the family was unquestioned and unmitigated. The other members of the family remained quiet and obedient as Nobunaga's retainers before his idiosyncracies.

The Iroha Cards contain their usual wry observation on this submission to the whims and caprices of the head of the house—*teishu* (husband)—no matter how wacky they may be. *Teishu no suki na aka-eboshi* ていしゅのすきなあかえぼし, begins with て, *té*, which comes from 天. What the teishu (the chauvinist . . . that is, the husband) likes (*suki*) is a red *eboshi*. Eboshi



were special hats worn mostly by nobles and samurai, only occasionally by commoners, and they were, as their name , "raven hat," suggests, crow black. Edoites could think of nothing farther out than a red "black hat." But if that's what Daddy wants. . .

The next card, あ, from 安, *a*, sounds something like the o in lot, is graphic enough. "Hiding your head and not concealing your tail": *atama kakushité, shiri kakusazu*, あたまかくしてしりかくさず. Some very small children may make the mistake during hide and seek of thinking that if their heads are out of sight they won't be found, while their fannies are protruding like road signs for It. They probably think they can't see anyone so how can anyone see them? Pheasants do the same thing. Their heads are very cleverly covered but they end up in the pot. Well now, how many people can we count who think they are terrifically cunning and have covered over their suspicious tracks very well but forgot to conceal their tail feathers?

さんべんまわってたばこにしよ (*sanben mawatté tabakoni sho*), "Three times around and then let's have a smoke," is not a riddle. Beginning with さ, *sa* (like the so in soccer), from 左, this phrase assumes you are aware of a common custom in Japan. Fires often occur in winter. To try to prevent the disaster of a fire which can devastate blocks of Japanese wooden houses in a sweep, twenty or so families in each block formed a fire watch. They took turns at the duty of walking through the streets at night striking together a pair of wooden clappers and calling "Be careful of fire! Be careful of fire!" You can still hear them in early evening, not in the center of the city but in some of the suburbs.

Three times around and then you can knock off for the night. Back in the days before cancer commercials you could work hard—and then sit down and light up. 東

from Edo Iroha published by Shinsen-sha
Cut paper illustrations by Takidaira Jiro

The Red Bowl

Once upon a time a long long time ago an old man was making his way through the woods. It was hard to tell just how old the old man really was but his back bent over his rickety staff like a pretzel and more wrinkles crinkled his withered face than there are rings in a giant cypress tree so he must have been considerably older than you or me. He seemed very weary.

At last he came to the humble cottage of a poor but honest woodcutter. "I have journeyed very far and my bones are aching and my stomach is hollow. Will you give an old man a bite to eat and place to sleep?" he called at the cottage door.

Inside, the woodcutter looked at his wife and his wife looked back at him. Their looks said, "We don't have a thing in the house. . ."

". . . but we can't turn away a hungry traveler."

Together they opened the door, "Come in, come in. We've little enough to offer you but you are welcome to what we have."

The woman boiled the last handful of rice in water and they drank herb tea while their guest relished the gruel. Giving the old man the only quilts, the couple retired to a bed of straw.

The next morning as their guest was preparing to depart he turned to the woodcutter and asked, "Do you know the spring in the forest? Of course you do. You have been very kind to an old man. I want to show my gratitude. Come to the spring, clap your hands three times and I will serve you a fine meal any time you wish. But you must be sure to return every one of the dishes to the spring after you have finished. Do not disobey this last whatever you do."

And with this the old man disappeared. Vanished just like—that.

Astonished, the couple cried, "Why that old man must have been the Spirit of the Spring!"

As you might expect, the wife was all for having the woodcutter go at once. "Try it and see if anything really happens." So the woodcutter set off for the spring.

Whe he reached the spot he collected himself and clapped loudly three times

clap! clap! clap! He looked. His eyes widened. First the water began to bubble and swirl. Then suddenly a big wave drew up, lifting a beautiful red lacquered tray set with all kinds of luscious goodies in red lacquered bowls. It was a feast for sure. The wave deposited the tray before the woodcutter and subsided back into the spring.

He hurried home with the banquet and they ate until their tummies were popping like overstuffed badgers. "I must take back the tray," said the woodcutter and he carried the empty dishes to the spring, whence a wave arose to receive the tray and carry it down under the water.

And so it went the next day and the next day and the next. As time passed the woodcutter saw no need to bother with searching for wood every day and chopping it down and lugging it to the market—in short he became l-a-z-y. Pretty soon all he did each day was to make the trip to and from the spring.

Then it happened, of course. The day came when he looked at the beautiful dishes and wanted them too. "Nobody'll ever miss just one," he said and put a lovely red bowl in the cupboard.

He returned the rest to the spring. The next day he went to the spring and clapped; but nothing happened. "Oh, oh, they counted," he thought and clapped again. Still nothing.

Very dejected was the ex-woodcutter as he turned toward home to tell his wife they would be having no more free feasts. "Well, at least we have the red lacquer bowl. That's something." He was trying to decide what was the least he would accept for it at the market when he reached the clearing

where his house had been—*and it wasn't any more*! All that was left were a few smoking embers and his crying wife.

"The cupboard where we put the red lacquer dish suddenly broke into flames and . . . oh, oh, oh, except for having had some good meals, all digested now, we're worse off than before we started, oh, oh, oh!"

We know it was a sadder and we can hope that it was a wiser woodcutter who shouldered his axe to set to work. (S.A.R.)東

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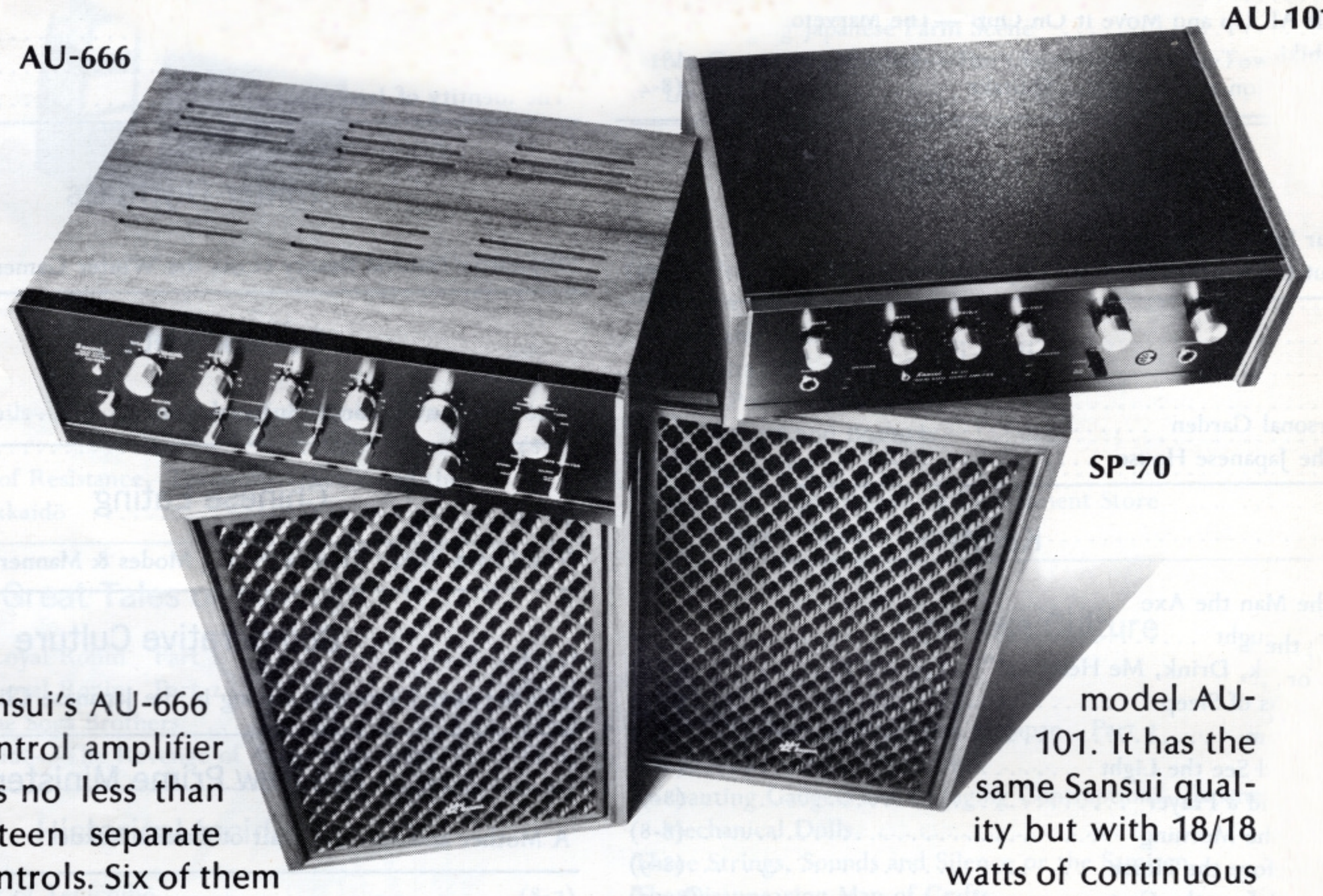

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